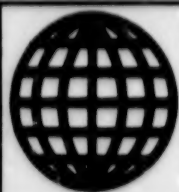


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20 OCTOBER 1989

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JPRS Report

Soviet Union

NEWS OF THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE

No 6, June 1989

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Soviet Union

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No 6, June 1989

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[Translation of the Russian-language monthly journal IZVESTIYA TSENTRALNOGO KOMITETA KOMMUNISTICHESKOY PARTII SOVETSKOGO SOYUZA (IZVESTIYA TsK KPSS) published in Moscow. Refer to the table of contents for a listing of any articles not translated.]

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IN THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE

On the Work of the CPSU Central Committee (Report for May 1989)

18050006a Moscow IZVESTIYA TsK KPSS in Russian
No 6, Jun 89 pp 3-6—FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

[Text] The main event in the country's and the party's sociopolitical affairs in May was the USSR Congress of People's Deputies. The congress, its democratic, work-oriented atmosphere and the constructive decisions made by the people's deputies were a turning point and also the culmination of the first stage of the reform of Soviet society's political system which is being carried out in accordance with the programmatic guidelines of the 19th All-Union Party Conference.

At its 25 May session the congress selected M. S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, to serve as USSR Supreme Soviet chairman; he presented a report on basic directions in the country's domestic and foreign policy. A. I. Lukyanov, CPSU Central Committee Politburo candidate member, was elected USSR Supreme Soviet first deputy chairman by the congress and the USSR Supreme Soviet was formed. At subsequent congress sessions and at the first session of the USSR Supreme Soviet N. I. Ryzhkov, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member, was appointed USSR Council of Ministers chairman and other constitutionally-mandated organs of the country's leadership were formed. (The congress' work received wide coverage in the press and on television and radio.)

Just prior to the USSR Congress of People's Deputies, on 22 May, a CPSU Central Committee plenum was held to consider matters pertaining to the congress; that plenum also recommended M. S. Gorbachev for the post of USSR Supreme Soviet chairman. While the congress was in session a CPSU Central Committee plenum was held on June 2. This plenum was devoted to the USSR Congress of People's Deputies and the upcoming USSR Supreme Soviet session. The plenum recommended N. I. Rykov for chairmanship of the USSR Council of Ministers. The Central Committee plenum's recommendations received the support of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies party group.

In the course of preparations for the congress CPSU Central Committee Politburo members, candidate Politburo members and secretaries, other CPSU Central

Committee members and candidate members and the members of the CPSU Central Auditing Commission met with voters and labor collectives. At those meetings, as well as at sessions of the congress itself, there was frank, lively discussion of ways of deepening restructuring and solving current socioeconomic, political and ideological problems in society. Participating in these meetings were the following members of the party leadership who are also USSR People's Deputies: M. S. Gorbachev, V. I. Vorotnikov, L. N. Zaykov, Ye. K. Ligachev, V. A. Medvedev, V. P. Nikonov, N. I. Ryzhkov, N. N. Slyunkov, V. M. Chebrikov, V. V. Shcherbitskiy, A. N. Yakovlev, A. V. Vlasov, A. I. Lukyanov, G. P. Razumovskiy and O. D. Baklanov.

The electoral campaign, which came to an end in May, and the work of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies convincingly confirmed the people's support for the Communist Party's domestic and foreign policy and its course toward renewal of all aspects of society and constant deepening of revolutionary restructuring. A total of 1,957 USSR people's deputies, or 87 percent, are CPSU members or candidate members. A total of 109 CPSU Central Committee members and 30 CPSU Central Committee candidate members were elected USSR people's deputies, as well as 23 CPSU Central Auditing Commission members and 74 first secretaries of union republic party central committees and party kraykoms and obkoms who are not members of CPSU central elective organs. At the congress 53 of these comrades were elected to the USSR Supreme Soviet.

The CPSU Central Committee continued to focus its attention on the search for ways of improving interethnic relations in our country. Preparations for the upcoming CPSU Central Committee plenum on these matters were considered by a session of the CPSU Central Committee Ideological Commission chaired by V. A. Medvedev. It was noted that a complex knot of socioeconomic, political and ideological problems have arisen in the field of interethnic relations, problems whose solutions will require purposeful and multifaceted efforts and development of a modern concept of interethnic relations. It was stressed that currently a number of draft laws connected with legal regulation of interethnic relations and strengthening of union republic sovereignty are being written. Drafts of working materials for the upcoming CPSU Central Committee plenum have undergone preliminary discussion at a broad meeting held at the CPSU Central Committee. Members of the Ideological Commission also presented their ideas on the USSR draft law "On Freedom of Conscience and Religious Organizations." (A report on the commission session is included in this issue.) The Central Committee Secretariat expressed its support for proposals on improved book publishing in the area of interethnic relations. It was deemed appropriate to develop a comprehensive scientific publication program for the publication of literature on these problems in the 1990-95 period.

The CPSU Central Committee Legal Policy Commission held a session under the chairmanship of V. M. Chebrikov. At this session there was discussion of reports from the USSR procurator general and USSR minister of foreign affairs concerning the fight against crime. The commission approved a proposal concerning development of a unified nationwide anti-crime program and suggested that urgent measures be taken to reinforce law and order in our country. (A report on this commission session is included in this issue.)

At its session the Central Committee Politburo discussed several steps proposed by the CPSU Central Committee Legal Policy Commission in connection with judicial reform. The Politburo expressed its support for proposals concerning further steps to bring about restructuring of judicial organs in our country, gave guarantees of judges' independence and affirmed the courts' role as guarantors of citizens' rights and legitimate interests, as well as support for measures pertaining to restructuring of legal education in our country, intensified development of the legal system's material-technical base and improved material provision for court personnel. The Central Committee Secretariat approved measures in regard to participation by Soviet public organizations in realization of the Vienna Accords and proposals by the appropriate ministries and agencies concerning improvement of Soviet legislation in that direction.

At one session the Central Committee Politburo considered a memorandum on improved investment policy presented by the CPSU Central Committee Socioeconomic Policy Commission. Expressing support for the commission's conclusions, the Politburo recommended that the USSR Council of Ministers take them into consideration as it prepares a draft resolution on greater yield from capital investment and radical restructuring of the economic mechanism in the investment field. (The Politburo resolution, the commission's memorandum and a report on the commission session are included in this issue.)

Work on a draft USSR Law on Young People and State Youth Policy in the USSR continued. This draft was discussed at a plenum of the All-Union Komsomol Central Committee attended by V. M. Chebrikov.

The Politburo considered and approved an account of 1988 CPSU budget expenditures. (A report on compliance with the party budget is included in this issue.)

In May the CPSU Central Committee Politburo's commissions continued to work diligently. The CPSU Central Committee Politburo Commission on Additional Study of Materials Pertaining to the Repressions of the 1930's, 1940's and Early 1950's held its regular session under the chairmanship of A. N. Yakovlev. The initial results of work on the legal and party rehabilitation of individuals repressed unjustly were evaluated. The Politburo commission reported that preparations for consideration of materials pertaining to trials in the cases of the "Leningrad counterrevolutionary Zinoviev group," the

"Leningrad center," the "all-union Trotskyite center," the "Bukharin school" and the "Rykov school" are nearing completion.

The CPSU Central Committee Politburo Interethnic Relations Commission held a session under the chairmanship of N. I. Ryzhkov. The situation which has recently arisen in and around Nagorno-Karabakh was discussed and measures aimed at restoring normalcy in that autonomous republic were proposed.

A great deal of attention continued to be devoted to recovery efforts in the wake of the Armenian earthquake. The Central Committee Politburo commission in charge of those efforts held regular sessions and frequent day-to-day meetings at which the progress of recovery work was discussed and steps taken toward acceleration of that work.

At meetings held in May at the CPSU Central Committee, in Tashkent and in Kaluga Oblast there was thorough discussion of efforts by party organizations to solve a number of timely problems in the party's agricultural policy and to implement the decisions of the March 1989 CPSU Central Committee Plenum. Discussion focused on: acceleration of social restructuring in rural areas and more complete harnessing of cities' industrial and intellectual potential to achieve that goal and bring about technical refitting of agroindustrial production facilities; better supply of fruits and vegetables to the public; expanded cooperation between industrial and agricultural enterprises; and development of family farms and collective gardening and orchard-keeping.

The CPSU Central Committee also discussed timely aspects of the mass media's practical work. The Central Committee Secretariat expressed its support for a proposal by the staff of the "V. I. Lenin Kremlin Office and Apartment Museum" concerning the creation of a new series of television programs devoted to the final years of V. I. Lenin's life and work and timed to coincide with the 120th anniversary of his birth. The contribution of Soviet television and radio to restructuring, development of glasnost processes and consolidation of all society's healthy forces on a constructive, socialist basis was among the questions discussed during a meeting between V. A. Medvedev and the USSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting party aktiv and various creative collectives from its editorial staff.

The CPSU Central Committee also monitored compliance with the comprehensive program for development of consumer goods production and the service sector in the 1986-2000 period and realization of its resolutions on additional measures to improve living conditions for war and labor veterans and on efforts by the Kuznetsk Metallurgical Combine party committee and economic administrators to stimulate labor activism.

The Central Committee Secretariat has outlined measures aimed at further improvement of the academic

process at party VUZs. Specifically, it was acknowledged that beginning in 1989 it would be appropriate to introduce accreditation for correspondence students of the CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences, this accreditation to be required for their admission to a third year of study. (Resolution included in this issue.)

The CPSU Central Committee's foreign policy calendar in May was full and fruitful.

One major event in international affairs was normalization of relations between the Soviet Union and the PRC, as well as between the CPSU and the Chinese CP. This was the most important outcome of a visit by M. S. Gorbachev to the PRC and of the talks he had there with Chinese leaders. The CPSU Central Committee Politburo, expressing its approval of the results of this visit, noting with great satisfaction that the Soviet-Chinese summit meeting was of epoch-making significance. It closed a chapter on the past and opened up a new stage in Soviet-Chinese relations.

The Politburo considered and approved the results of a meeting between M. S. Gorbachev and W. Jaruzelski, PZPR Central Committee first secretary and chairman of the Polish State Council, who was in the USSR on a working visit. The appropriate organizations and institutions have been set the task of developing a new model for economic collaboration between the USSR and the Polish People's Republic and bring about practical realization of the agreements reached at the highest level.

A report was heard on the results of a meeting between M. S. Gorbachev and Nguyen van Linh, Vietnamese CP Central Committee general secretary. The Politburo expressed confidence that the development of restructuring and renewal processes in the USSR and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam will add a new quality to Soviet-Vietnamese relations and will help increase the yield and mutual benefit from economic ties between the two countries.

The Politburo considered and approved the results of a talk between M. S. Gorbachev and negotiations conducted by E. A. Shevardnadze with S. Uno, Japan's minister of foreign affairs. It was deemed appropriate to continue preparations for a visit by M. S. Gorbachev to Japan. The results of a talk between M. S. Gorbachev and negotiations conducted by E. A. Shevardnadze with J. Baker, U. S. secretary of state. Of fundamental significance were the major Soviet initiatives put forward during the talk in a key area of present-day international relations: arms limitation and reduction. A report was also heard on the outcome of a working visit by E. A. Shevardnadze to the FRG and his talks with H. Kohl, federal chancellor, and H.-D. Genscher, minister of foreign affairs; in the course of their discussion attention focused on preparations for M. S. Gorbachev's upcoming official visit to the FRG.

The Central Committee secretariat also approved plans for interparty contacts and collaboration with a number of foreign countries.

In May E. A. Shevardnadze traveled to Paris to take part in the official opening of a meeting of the Conference on the Human Dimension of the All-European Process. Working visits were paid by V. P. Nikonov to the Hungarian People's Republic and Yu. D. Maslyukov to the Socialist Republic of Romania. N. V. Talyzin traveled to the People's Republic of Bulgaria. D. T. Yazov paid an official amicable visit to the Czechoslovakian Socialist Republic and other contacts were made; these are all listed in the section entitled "CPSU International Relations."

On a Memorandum by the CPSU Central Committee Socioeconomic Policy Committee "On Higher Yield From Capital Investment and Improvement of the Economic Mechanism in Construction" (CPSU Central Committee Politburo Resolution, 11 May 1989)

18050006a Moscow IZVESTIYA TsK KPSS in Russian No 6, Jun 89 pp 7-10—FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

[Text] It is hereby resolved:

to concur, taking into consideration discussion by a Politburo session, with the assessment of the state of affairs in the area of capital construction and the conclusions and proposals on radical restructuring of the economic mechanism in the investment field contained in a CPSU Central Committee Socioeconomic Policy Commission memorandum (attached).

This CPSU Central Committee commission memorandum will be submitted to the USSR Council of Ministers for consideration.

On Higher Yield From Capital Investment and Improvement of the Economic Mechanism in Construction

On 24 April 1989 the CPSU Central Committee Socioeconomic Policy Commission considered the problem of how to increase yield from capital investment and improve the economic mechanism in the field of construction [a report on this commission session is included in this issue, pp 90-94] and herewith reports to the CPSU Central Committee Politburo concerning its assessment of the state of affairs in capital construction and its proposals on the principal aspects of restructuring in the investment field.

Realization of measures adopted during the current five-year plan to improve management and the economic mechanism in construction and the transition by construction organizations and enterprises to collective contracts, full cost-accounting and self-financing have caused certain changes in the investment field. Growth rates for capital investment, construction and installation work and completion of fixed production capital and facilities in the social realm have risen. There has been an increase in the percentage of investment in non-production-related construction and in technical refitting and renovation of existing enterprises.

However, no fundamental, qualitative improvement has yet been achieved in capital construction. Furthermore, in recent years the introduction of a expenditure-oriented economic mechanism in the investment field has sharply intensified negative tendencies and a decline in yield from capital investment has become evident.

The 27th CPSU Congress' requirements that the investment cycle be shortened by a factor of at least two and that construction of facilities and completion of production capacities be carried out within standardized time limits are not being met.

In our country the average length of time required to build an industrial facility is 7.7 years, which is higher than standard time limits by a factor of 2.7 and higher than the actual length of time required in developed countries by factors of between three and four.

The disparity between the growth rate of capital investment and the introduction into production of fixed capital has widened. The average annual growth rate of capital investment in 1986-88 was 6.8 percent, while growth in the introduction of fixed capital into production was only 5.3 percent. In 1985 one ruble of capital investment produced 95.8 kopecks of fixed capital, but by 1988 this figure had fallen to 90.8 kopecks.

Each year over one-third of all production facilities built by state order are not put into production. Failure to put fixed capital into production during the first three years of the current five-year plan has cost over 20 billion rubles. This threatens to prevent fulfillment of the five-year plan goal for expansion of the most important production capacities.

The practice of dispersing efforts and funding among numerous construction projects without correlation with available financial and material resources continues. Economic levers for narrowing the construction front and restricting new construction are virtually nonexistent. Over 17,000 production-related construction projects are currently underway on state capital investment funds alone. This is more by a factor of almost two than we can provide resources for. In 1988 the number of new construction projects rose by more than 4,000, or by 41 percent. Using present approaches it will take over four years to complete the projects which have already been started.

The constantly increasing volume of uncompleted construction is a heavy burden on our country's economy, finances and currency flow. During the first three years of the current five-year plan this increased by 30 billion rubles, reaching a total of 150 billion rubles, or 81 percent of the total annual capital investment plan. The optimum level (60 percent) has been exceeded by 40-50 billion rubles. Over a period of seven or eight years these projects have swallowed up physical resources worth approximately 25-27 billion rubles, as well as 10 billion rubles in wages.

A large amount of useless work is being done in the field of capital construction. Losses from writeoffs of expenditures for unrealized and cancelled construction, planning and survey work, drilling and other jobs total over four billion rubles annually.

Stockpiles of uninstalled equipment are not shrinking. At the start of the current year they totalled 14 billion rubles, of which 3.2 billion were above standard allowable limits. The value of uninstalled imported equipment was over 4.6 billion rubles. Foreign firms' warranties on over one-third of this equipment have already expired.

Considerable harm is being done to the economy by failure to utilize new production capacities in a timely manner. Only 30 percent of the facilities made available for use reach their planned output within the allotted time period, and some of them never achieve their planned parameters at all.

There has been a constant rise in the cost of construction. According to data from the USSR Industrial Construction Bank the price factor is the primary component in the larger volume of construction and installation work which has been observed. In effect this "eats up" all increases in capital investment.

Planning costs have risen at an especially rapid rate. In 1988 the cost of planning and survey work increased by almost one billion rubles, or by 26 percent, while construction planners' average salary rose by 30 percent. Wages for some personnel increased by 50-90 percent. Yet at the same time the actual volume of work done virtually did not increase at all, nor did planning quality improve.

The current situation in the investment field, one which is characterized by dispersal of resources, an excessively long investment cycle and a low rate of return on capital investment, has become a hindrance to the realization of the party's programs for development of the social base, technical renovation of the economy and restructuring in general.

The main reason for the worsening of negative processes in the area of capital construction was the introduction of an expenditure-oriented economic mechanism in 1986. This is oriented toward intermediate-range gross indices and does not stimulate the growth of finished construction, i.e. the readying for production and utilization of planned capacities.

This commission is of the opinion that without radical restructuring of the economic mechanism and a shift in its focus toward end results no significant progress can be achieved in the investment field.

The first thing which must be achieved is balance between capital investment planning and construction and installation work, limitation of the scope of construction to correspond to actual sources of financial and physical resources. In order to do this it will be necessary

to reduce the volume of production-related capital investment and construction and installation work over a period of two to three years, and also reduce substantially the number of facilities under construction at any one time.

It is essential that before the end of the current year an inventory of production-related construction projects be made, with a view toward finding projects which need to be completed as soon as possible and converted to the production of consumer goods, with the facilities then to be leased or transferred to cooperatives.

It would be appropriate to change the structure of capital investment sources and reduce the overall amount of state budget allocations through maximum utilization of enterprises' and organizations' own resources, and also to reduce expenditures from union republic and local soviet budgets for the development of their equipment, infrastructure and social facilities. At the beginning of this year the amount of unutilized funds remaining in enterprises' hands totalled more than 29 billion rubles. More efforts should be made to attract the resources of housing construction cooperatives and citizens' private savings for use in the development of housing construction. This year the total sum of these resources being utilized will not exceed seven billion rubles (approximately three percent of the total volume of capital investment). Centralized capital investments should be oriented primarily toward the construction of projects by state order.

Overall the construction planning system must be restructured in accordance with the intent of the USSR Law on State Enterprises. Plans should be compiled from below by labor collectives on the basis of contractual relations between contractors and client enterprises.

It seems appropriate to end the practice of financing from the budget for centralized capital investment in production construction and make a transition to a credit-based financing system.

Provision should be made for special measures which will give clients and contractors a greater stake in further expansion of and improved quality in renovation and technical refitting of existing enterprises.

The weakest link in the entire investment field, and the one which to a large extent causes it to be expenditure-oriented in nature and have a low rate of return on capital investment and technical lags in the production facilities being created, is planning. Only one project in ten which is actually completed is up to world standards. There continues to be a significant gap between planning and scientific research. According to data from the USSR Industrial Construction Bank only one scientific development in six is actually utilized in planning. A selective analysis of 179 plans for which construction is scheduled to begin at the end of the current five-year plan indicated that only 10 of them made provision for increases in labor productivity by factors of between one-and-a-half and two.

In order to bring about radical improvement in the quality of planning it would be appropriate to draw up a comprehensive program for fundamental restructuring of planning work, including in that program measures to improve management, planning and the economic mechanism in the planning field, its body of standards and its supply of personnel and equipment, as well as to regularize and strengthen its appraisal organs. It is essential that a system of evaluation indices be introduced into the planning field so the effectiveness of planning can be gauged.

Particular attention should be paid to the matter of radical restructuring of the economic mechanism in construction. In order to create normal economic relationships it is essential that a transition be made to accounts with clients and formation of construction organizations' profits, revenue and economic incentive funds solely on the basis of completed construction, after projects have been completely readied for use.

Stricter economic sanctions should be introduced to punish violations of plan (or contract) deadlines for the construction of production capacities and facilities, as well as for above-standard volumes of incomplete construction and uninstalled equipment, including imported equipment. It would be expedient to develop new standards governing the length of the investment cycle which would provide for a substantial reduction in time limits for planning, construction, renovation and start-up of capacities by enterprises, with a view toward maximum overlapping of all stages of the investment cycle. It is proposed that the time limit for construction of industrial capacities be limited to not more than two or two-and-a-half years, which is comparable to leading Soviet and world standards.

Provision should be made for measures aimed at improving construction organization, developing low-level cost-accounting and putting brigades, sectors, administrations, trusts and enterprises on lease contracts. Cooperative forms of production should be expanded and construction organization associations and other progressive forms of construction organization established.

It is also essential that a mechanism be created which will promote economic responsibility and a stake for participants in the investment process in lowering the materials-intensiveness and cost of construction and in speeding up completion of production capacities.

In order to realize the 27th CPSU Congress' guidelines concerning the transition of capital construction to a new organizational and industrial level and improvement in the quality of its work it will be necessary to adopt special government decisions regarding the provision of skilled construction workers for the sector and essential social and everyday conditions for them, strengthening of the production base and development of construction-related machine building.

The commission deems it appropriate that this memorandum be sent to the USSR Council of Ministers so that the proposals it contains may be used to help prepare a draft government decree on a higher rate of return from capital investment and radical restructuring of the economic mechanism in the investment field.

CPSU Central Committee Socioeconomic Policy Commission Chairman, N. Slyunkov

CPSU Central Committee Secretariat Resolutions

On Coverage of the Life and Work of the Soviet Armed Forces by the Central Press (29 April 1989)

*18050006a Moscow IZVESTIYA TsK KPSS in Russian
No 6, Jun 89 pp 11-14—FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY*

[Text] It is hereby resolved:

1. To concur with the proposals outlined in a memorandum from the CPSU Central Committee State and Legal Department and Ideological Department and the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Administration on this matter (memorandum attached).
2. To direct the attention of communists and party organizations in the editorial offices of central newspapers and magazines to the shortcomings noted in the memorandum in regard to their coverage of the life and work of the Soviet Armed Forces, and to require them to take the necessary steps to raise the level of articles dealing with matters pertaining to defense of our socialist Fatherland.
3. To express a positive attitude toward the proposal that qualified military journalists be assigned to the editorial staffs of central newspapers, upon agreement with the editorial boards in question, while remaining on duty in the Soviet Army and Navy; to submit this matter for consideration by the USSR Council of Ministers.

On Coverage of the Life and Work of the Soviet Armed Forces in the Central Press (Memorandum of the CPSU Central Committee State and Legal Department, CPSU Central Committee Ideological Department, Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Administration)

At recent reports and election meetings and party conference held by communists in military districts, groups of forces, fleets, large strategic formations and large units opinions were expressed, among other issues, concerning coverage of life in and work by the Soviet Armed Forces in the press. Specifically, it was noted that PRAVDA is making a major contribution to efforts to instill in Soviets correct perceptions of the army and the navy and the responsible, valiant labor performed by their personnel. For many years now it has regularly presented a column entitled "We Serve the Soviet Union." Quite a few interesting articles on military subjects are published

by IZVESTIYA and TRUD. There has been a positive response among army readers to articles describing acts of courage by Soviet soldiers in the Republic of Afghanistan and following the Armenian earthquake and concerning the unresolved problems of military personnel, especially the housing problem. Constructive criticism of specific shortcomings in the troops' life, the state of discipline and work by party and Komsomol organizations has been met with understanding. This criticism is perceived as a manifestation of the public's concern for further strengthening of our country's defensive capabilities and deepening of restructuring in the Armed Forces.

However, many speakers noted with concern that some articles have portrayed army life in a subjective, one-sided manner and contain unreliable information on restructuring in the army and problems which remain to be solved. For a number of press organs (OGONEK, MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLET and the Soviet Peace Committee bulletin VEK XX I MIR). As a result many articles have been published which are superficial, biased and ill-informed and which undermine respect for the Armed Forces, the prestige of military service and relations between the army and the people.

Many articles persistently attempt to convince readers that the army is in some way isolated in our society, going so far as to call it a "forbidden zone," an "isolated organism," etc. Thus, L. I. Saraskina, a senior scientific associate of the USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences, claims in her article "The Army and Society" (VEK XX I MIR, No 9, 1988) that "it is difficult for the army to enter into dialogue... with society, because it finds itself in a state of profound moral discomfiture..." The author of "Pre-Induction Quadrille" (in SOBESEDNIK, No 1, 1989) notes that "the conflict between democratization of society and army regulations is becoming more acute." However, he fails to note that hundreds of thousands of people pass through the army, like a school that tempers them for life, and that virtually the entire enlisted personnel of the army is replaced every two years. Essentially every Soviet family knows the real truth about serving in the army, about the system which exist there. The army remains "off limits" only for those who for one reason or another have not served in it. The army is indissolubly linked with the people. Thousands of servicemen are people's deputies or have been elected to serve on local party committees. Military units maintain close contacts with the collectives of industrial enterprises, kolkhozes, sovkhozes and educational institutions and act as patrons of schools and children's homes. The army takes part in the performance of the most complex and difficult tasks, ones like harvesting, construction of the BAM, building of roads in the Non-Black Earth Zone and recovery efforts after the Chernobyl nuclear accident and the Armenian earthquake. Soldiers are the first to join the fight against natural disasters, giving no thought to their own lives.

We cannot agree with the way in which some articles point to the army as supposedly the source of all that is

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dogmatic and antidemocratic. The opinion has been expressed that the army has some interest in acting as a conservative force. Thus, in the Soviet Peace Committee's bulletin VEK XX I MIR (No 3, 1988) one participant in a roundtable discussion, cinema art expert Nuykin, posed the question of whose side the army would be on if the opponents of restructuring launched an open struggle to restore the old order. The journal's editors "failed to notice" the inflammatory nature of the very way this question was posed. The same bulletin (No 11, 1988) contained an article entitled "A Military Man Against the 'War Machine,' which contained claims about militarization of our country and expansion of the military-industrial complex, along with demagogic appeals that the Armed Forces be purged of "military mentality, which hampers democratization of the troops, and demilitarization of our society in general."

A number of publications have printed articles on matters of defense building in which scientifically unfounded proposals are put forward, proposals which do not take present-day military and political realities into account. For example, in the article "What Kind of Army Do We Need?" MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI (6 November 1988), under the pretense of "restoration of a Leninist character to the socialist army," recommends what is essentially a renunciation of "development of our army in peacetime as a professional, standing army."

In an article entitled "Accursed Forces: The 'Magic' of the Defensive Mentality" (VEK XX I MIR, No 10, 1988) it is claimed that "our obsession with a defensive mentality—the perception of being in a besieged fortress—paralyzes our ability to think, to doubt, to seek out alternative solutions."

Things like strict adherence to military discipline, one-man command and military regulations are written about in a condemnatory, satirical tone. The idea is instilled in people that rejection of these fundamental principles is an imperative of our times, a requirement of restructuring. In the aforementioned article "Pre-Induction Quadrille" the readers are told that "psychology equates the army community to that of a prison, though this notion may offend professional military men. The main traits in common between these two communities are the lack of free will in the selection of one's collective and lack of freedom on the part of each member of the collective on a continuous basis, 24 hours a day." Yet the authors of these articles do not mention the tasks set for the Armed Forces by the 27th CPSU Congress, the 19th All-Union Party Conference and CPSU Central Committee resolutions.

Instead of a serious, thoughtful analysis of the work being done in the army and navy in this direction the broad readership is often presented with "proven" facts which have not been adequately verified. Sometimes certain truthfully presented details are embellished with fictitious situations and overtones, as a result of which the articles in question become sensational in nature. This is what happened to an article published in

KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA under the title "A Shot in the Train Car." That article drew conclusions concerning the motives which prompted a soldier to commit a serious crime before investigation of the crime was complete. Vyazigin, major general of justice, sent a letter to KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA protesting the dishonest, imprecise quotations from his statements on this case yet did not receive an answer, nor was his letter published. And this is not an isolated instance. The editorial staff of many publications, while defending their own rights to be respected, do not deem it possible to publish articles which differ with or refute their opinions.

A majority of articles on the Armed Forces also no longer include concepts like duty, honor, dignity and loyalty to one's military oath. There is often no place in them for heroism, adventure or thoughts on the high calling of military service and respect for the army. One gets the impression that a number of newspapers and magazines have turned over military topics to people who are not sufficiently mature and have little knowledge of military affairs.

All these things have had a negative effect on the upbringing of young people, and in particular on their sense of responsibility for performing their constitutional duty in regard to defense of the socialist Fatherland. Doubt is often cast on unswerving compliance by all our country's citizens with the USSR Law "On the Universal Military Obligation." As compared to previous years there is a growing number of young people being inducted into the army and navy who have served criminal sentences, had run-ins with the militia, use alcohol and drugs, etc. Prior to induction a substantial segment of young people are exposed to pacifistic sentiments and have been members of various informal organizations, including some which have a negative attitude toward the Soviet way of life.

Speeches by many speakers at the conferences and party reports and election meetings stressed the idea that the mass media should help prepare young people for army service.

Taking these critical comments into consideration, the CPSU Central Committee State and Legal Department and Ideological Department and the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Administration deem it essential that necessary steps be taken in conjunction with the heads of central press, radio and television organs to raise the level of articles on matters pertaining to defense of the socialist Fatherland, life in the Armed Forces and the restructuring which is underway there; provision should be made for articles on these subjects by leaders of the Communist Party and the Soviet Government and by war and labor veterans. We feel that it is important that the USSR minister of defense and chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Administration meet with the heads of the mass media; at that meeting discussion should center on restructuring of the Armed Forces in the wake of the 27th CPSU Congress and the

19th All-Union Party Conference. We also deem it appropriate to direct the attention of communists and party organizations in the editorial offices of central newspapers and magazines to the aforementioned shortcomings in their coverage of the life and work of the Soviet Armed Forces and require them to take whatever measures are necessary to raise the level of their articles on matters pertaining to defense of the socialist Fatherland. We feel that it would be useful to recommend that the editors of IZVESTIYA, SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA, SELSKAYA ZHIZN, STROITELNAYA GAZETA, SOVETSKAYA KULTURA, TRUD, KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA and LITERATURNAYA GAZETA establish appropriate departments or other editorial divisions to cover the Soviet Armed Forces, and that they staff those departments with skilled journalists.

CPSU Central Committee State and Legal Department

CPSU Central Committee Ideological Department

Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Administration

From Documents Issued Since April 1985

On Intensification of Efforts To Perpetuate the Memory of the Motherland's Defenders and Step Up Military-Patriotic Education for Working People

18050006b Moscow IZVESTIYA TsK KPSS in Russian
No 6, Jun 89 pp 17-20—FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee received the following letter from the Soviet War Veterans Committee. In response to its request IZVESTIYA TsK KPSS is publishing a CPSU Central Committee Secretariat resolution issued 29 October 1987 and entitled "On Intensification of Efforts To Perpetuate the Memory of the Motherland's Defenders and Step Up Military-Patriotic Education for Working People," with a memorandum from CPSU Central Committee departments and the All-Union Komsomol Central Committee attached.

CPSU Central Committee

The Soviet War Veterans Committee thanks the IZVESTIYA TsK KPSS editorial board for publishing documents concerning more active military-patriotic work and perpetuation of the memory of the Motherland's defenders. However, Issue No 1 of your journal published the 15 October 1988 CPSU Central Committee Secretariat resolution "On the Status of Implementation of 'On Intensification of Efforts To Perpetuate the Memory of the Motherland's Defenders and Step Up Military-Patriotic Education for Working People,'" yet veterans were not familiarized with the original resolution of 29 October 1987, as that resolution was classified "top secret" when it was issued.

We urgently request that the 29 October 1987 CPSU Central Committee resolution be reprinted (along with its attached memorandum) because it is essential to all sections of the Soviet War Veterans Committee, groups of the Poisk [Search] Organization and war and labor veterans' councils, as well as all other agencies which have been instructed by the CPSU Central Committee to take an active part in military-patriotic work.

*Marshal of Aviation and Soviet War Veterans Committee
Chairman, A. Silantyev*

7 April 1989

On Intensification of Efforts To Perpetuate the Memory of the Motherland's Defenders and Step Up Military-Patriotic Education for Working People (CPSU Central Committee Secretariat Resolution, 29 October 1987)

It is hereby resolved:

1. To concur with proposals submitted by CPSU Central Committee departments and the All-Union Komsomol Central Committee and outlined in a memorandum on the matter in question (memorandum attached).

To deem it appropriate to send the aforementioned memorandum to union republic party central committees, party kraykoms and obkoms, the USSR Council of Ministers, union and autonomous republic councils of ministers, krayispolkoms and oblispolkoms and the appropriate USSR ministries and agencies so that appropriate action may be taken.

2. To direct the attention of party, trade union and Komsomol organizations and local soviet ispolkoms to the need to step up their work in regard to in-depth study of the revolutionary past of the party and the people, improved military-patriotic education for Soviet people, especially young people, and perpetuation of the memory of the Motherland's defenders.

To recommend that union and autonomous republic councils of ministers, krayispolkoms and oblispolkoms carry out effective monitoring over implementation of previous resolutions on perpetuation of the memory of heroes fallen in the struggle for victory in the October Revolution and their socialist Fatherland's freedom and independence, as well as monitoring of benefits provided to war veterans and the families of those who were killed.

To submit for USSR Council of Ministers consideration matters pertaining to allocation of adequate resources and establishment of public funds for planning, erection and maintenance of memorials, monuments and cemeteries for defenders of the Motherland and internationalist soldiers.

3. The USSR Ministry of Culture, USSR Ministry of Education, USSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education, USSR State Committee for Vocational and Technical Education, other ministries and agencies, the Soviet Culture Fund and republic

societies for preservation of historical and cultural monuments shall in conjunction with public organizations work actively to recruit young people and the entire population for participation in coordinated, practical efforts to perpetuate the memory of fallen heroes and carry out necessary measures to intensify upbringing of the new generation in a spirit of lofty civic responsibility, patriotism and internationalism.

4. The editorial boards of central and local newspapers and magazines, the USSR State Committee for Radio and Television Broadcasting and the USSR State Committee for Cinematography shall graphically promote the unity and continuity between generations of Soviets, provide models of a respectful and caring attitude toward party, war and labor veterans, comprehensively portray examples of selfless, heroic service to the Fatherland, unswerving performance of military duty and willingness to come to the defense of peace and socialism, and expose shortcomings in internationalist and military-patriotic educational work with the public, especially young people.

5. Monitoring of the way in which this resolution is implemented shall be the responsibility of the CPSU Central Committee departments for organizational party work, propaganda, science and educational institutions, culture and administrative organs.

On Intensification of Efforts To Perpetuate the Memory of the Motherland's Defenders and Step Up Military-Patriotic Education for Working People (Memorandum)

In accordance with their instructions CPSU Central Committee departments and the All-Union Komsomol Central Committee have summarized letters and petitions sent by working people to the party Central Committee, as well as statements in the mass media, concerning perpetuation of the memory of fallen Soviet soldiers, partisans and members of the underground and efforts to further improve work to bring up young people in a spirit of lofty civic responsibility and patriotism.

A certain system of military-patriotic education has taken shape in our country. In connection with this effective use is being made of the educational system, physical and military skills training, materials in the mass media and various forms of mass political work. In republics, krais and oblasts museums and memorial complexes dedicated to those who fought for the establishment of Soviet power, those who heroically defended the socialist Motherland and international soldiers have been established. An all-union Komsomol and youth expedition called "Chronicle of the Great Patriotic War" is being organized. Steps outlined by the party and the government toward improved housing and everyday conditions, medical care and other services for participants in the Civil War and the Great Patriotic War and for the families of those who were killed are being

implemented in a consistent manner; this is being facilitated by on-site investigations into these matters conducted at the initiative of the All-Union War and Labor Veterans Council.

All these things have had a positive effect on the education of Soviets in a spirit of socialist morality. Their selfless labor and heroic deeds manifest their lofty moral and political qualities, their patriotism and their willingness to defend the achievements of socialism.

Yet at the same time the aforementioned letters and articles contain sharp criticism as well. There are still a large number of unmarked graves, many common graves have not been landscaped or tended, and some are in a state of neglect. Some gravestones and monuments are pitiful things made of flimsy materials. USSR Council of Ministers Decree No 339, 11 April 1979, "On Additional Measures To Beautify and Establish Order at Military Cemeteries and Graves of Soviet Soldiers and Partisans" is not being complied with fully.

In a number of places where battles were fought during the Great Patriotic War there are still areas which have not been searched, and unburied soldiers' remains are still being found. The names of many Soviet soldiers who died fighting to free our Motherland and other countries from the fascist invaders remain unknown. Cases of criminal desecration of monuments and common graves have been recorded. Not everywhere have steps been taken to perpetuate the memory of the internationalist soldiers who died defending the freedom of the peoples of Spain, Mongolia, Vietnam, Afghanistan and other countries. Some burial places of civilians killed by the fascists during the war have not been taken care of.

Efforts by enthusiasts to restore and perpetuate the names of our fallen heroes do not always receive timely support from party, trade union, Komsomol and other public organizations, local military command organs or state museums and archives. Efforts in this direction are often of a sporadic nature and are frequently timed to coincide with preparations for the anniversaries of certain dates.

Many Komsomol committees are not doing enough in regard to these matters. The forms of military-patriotic work among young people and the general public practiced in labor collectives and at people's places of residence are ineffective; empty declarations are often substituted for real work. The role of the family in instilling a sense of patriotism and love for the Soviet Motherland has been understated, and not enough use is being made of the opportunities presented by preschool, cultural-educational and academic institutions.

Complaints are still being received in regard to the attitude of indifference shown toward veterans, former internationalist soldiers and the families of those who were killed, and concerning the response to their justified requests.

This situation has come about as a result of serious errors in guidance of military-patriotic education on the part of a number of party committees, insufficient monitoring and a lowering of standards for heads of state and public organizations in regard to fulfillment of party and state decisions and guidelines on these matters. Oftentimes initiative at the local level is hampered by various bans and regulations. Not enough thought has been given to allocation of the necessary material and financial resources for the building and proper maintenance of burial places, monuments and memorials.

In this time of restructuring, deepening democratization and, alas, we feel especially keenly Soviets' intolerance of manifestations of indifference or forgetfulness in regard to the memory of those who gave their lives while performing their military and civic duty.

In view of this we deem it essential to instruct:

- union republic party central committees, party kraykoms and obkoms, union and autonomous republic councils of ministers, krayispolkoms, oblispolkoms, the All-Union Komsomol Central Committee, the AUCCTU, the USSR Ministry of Defense, the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Administration, the DOSAAF Central Committee, the USSR Ministry of Culture, the USSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education, the USSR Ministry of Education, the USSR State Committee for Vocational and Technical Education, the USSR State Committee for Physical Culture and Sports, the All-Union Znaniye Society, the Central Council on Tourism and Excursions and the All-Union War and Labor Veterans Council to take urgent measures to bring about radical improvement in the military-patriotic education of working people, especially young people, and to eliminate the aforementioned serious shortcomings in their efforts to perpetuate the memory of those who died defending their Motherland or performing their internationalist duty; to carefully search areas where battles took place in order to find and inter soldiers' remains, if such work was not done following the war or needs to be repeated; and to establish order at burial places, memorials and monuments;
- the USSR Ministry of Culture, the USSR Council of Ministers Main Administrative for Archives, republic and oblast party archives, and other archives and museums to render the public scientific and consultative assistance in regard to the establishment of public museums and in the conducting of research work and collection, processing and storage of documentary materials and relics, and also establish procedures for turning over especially valuable articles over to the state for preservation and for use in the military-patriotic education of working people;
- party, soviet, trade union and Komsomol organizations to make more effective use of the mass media and perfect forms and methods of agitational-propaganda work aimed at instilling in Soviet people a

sense of patriotism and lofty civic responsibility and creating an atmosphere of intolerance toward incidents of indifference toward veterans and their justified requests and forgetfulness toward the memory of fallen defenders of the Motherland and internationalist soldiers.

It is recommended that the USSR Ministry of Defense, the USSR KGB, the USSR MVD and the All-Union Komsomol Central Committee, in conjunction with other pertinent agencies and institutions, consider matters pertaining to participation by young people and former military personnel in events devoted to celebration of days commemorating the Army, the Navy, various branches of the Armed Forces and other anniversaries. They should take the necessary measures to step up work to establish the names and places of death of soldiers, partisans and members of the underground killed during the Great Patriotic War.

We deem it essential that union and autonomous republic councils of ministers, krayispolkoms and oblispolkoms be instructed to step up their monitoring over implementation of USSR Council of Ministers Decree No 339, issued 11 April 1979, and other previous decisions regarding perpetuation of the memory of fallen heroes, maintenance of the places where they are buried and provision of appropriate benefits to war veterans and the families of those who were killed.

It would be appropriate for the USSR Council of Ministers to have submitted for its consideration matters pertaining to establishment of a clear-cut procedure for allocation of necessary resources and establishment of public funds for the planning, erection and ongoing maintenance of memorials, monuments and burial places connected with the Motherland's defenders and internationalist soldiers. Responsibility for the condition of these sites should be placed upon local soviet and economic organs and military commissariats.

Implementation of measures aimed at bringing order to burial places and monuments, establishing the names and perpetuating the memory of the Soviet soldiers, partisans and members of the underground who perished and focusing greater attention on the needs and wishes of war veterans will have great significance in regard to strengthening Soviet society's moral health.

CPSU Central Committee Propaganda Department

CPSU Central Committee Administrative Organs Department

CPSU Central Committee Science and Educational Institutions Department

All-Union Komsomol Central Committee

CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE
MEMBERSHIPCPSU Central Committee Candidate Members
(Short Biographies)

18050006c Moscow IZVESTIYA TsK KPSS in Russian
No 6, Jun 89 pp 21-50—FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

[Text]

CPSU Central Committee Members Elected by the 27th
CPSU Congress: CPSU Central Committee Candidate
Members

The 27th CPSU Congress elected 170 CPSU Central Committee candidate members. At the present time the Central Committee has 109 candidate members.

The following changes took place among party Central Committee candidate members from March 1986 through June 1989.

The April 1989 CPSU Central Committee Plenum granted a request from 24 CPSU Central Committee candidate members that they be permitted to resign as CPSU Central Committee candidate members. Among these individuals were the following comrades:

N. A. Antonov: born 1921; Russian; CPSU member since 1944; served 1972-86 as Novgorod CPSU Obkom first secretary; 1986—became union-level personal pensioner; 1976-89—CPSU Central Committee candidate member.

S. P. Burenkov: born 1923; Russian; CPSU member since 1945; candidate of medical sciences; served 1980-86 as USSR minister of health; 1986—became union-level personal pensioner; 1981-89—CPSU Central Committee candidate member.

G. P. Voronovskiy: born 1924; Russian; CPSU member since 1955; served 1985-86 as USSR minister of the electrical equipment industry; 1986—became union-level personal pensioner; 1986-89—CPSU Central Committee candidate member; USSR State Prize laureate.

N. T. Glushkov: born 1918; Russian; CPSU member since 1945; candidate of economic sciences; served 1975-86 as USSR State Committee on Prices chairman; 1986—became union-level personal pensioner; 1976-86—CPSU Central Auditing Commission member; 1986-89—CPSU Central Committee candidate member.

N. G. Davydov: born 1928; Russian; CPSU member since 1952; served 1982-88 as Dzhzhkazgan Kazakh CP Obkom first secretary; 1988—became union-level personal pensioner; 1986-89—CPSU Central Committee candidate member.

V. V. Dementsev: born 1918; Russian; CPSU member since 1940; doctor of economic sciences; served 1986-87 as USSR Gosbank chairman of the board; 1988—became union-level personal pensioner; 1986-89—CPSU Central Committee candidate member.

G. M. Yegorov: born 1918; Russian; CPSU member since 1942; admiral; served 1981-88 as USSR DOSAAF Central Committee chairman; 1988—became military inspector/adviser under USSR Ministry of Defense General Inspectors' Group; 1986-89—CPSU Central Committee candidate member; Hero of the Soviet Union.

F. T. Yermash: born 1923; Russian; CPSU member since 1945; served 1972-86 as USSR State Committee for Cinematography chairman; 1986—became union-level personal pensioner; 1976-89—CPSU Central Committee candidate member.

G. A. Zhukov: born 1908; Ukrainian; CPSU member since 1943; served 1962-88 as PRAVDA political commentator; 1988—became union-level personal pensioner; 1956-76—CPSU Central Auditing Commission member; 1976-89—CPSU Central Committee candidate member; Hero of Socialist Labor; Lenin Prize laureate.

Z. Kamalidenov: born 1936; Kazakh; CPSU member since 1963; served 1985-88 as Kazakh CP Central Committee secretary; 1988—became Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman; 1988—became union-level personal pensioner; 1986-89—CPSU Central Committee candidate member; Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet deputy.

N. D. Komarov: born 1918; Russian; CPSU member since 1945; served 1980-87 as USSR first deputy minister of foreign trade; 1987—became union-level personal pensioner; 1981-89—CPSU Central Committee candidate member.

V. N. Kononov: born 1926; Russian; CPSU member since 1947; candidate of economic sciences; served 1983-88 as Azerbaijan CP Central Committee second secretary; 1988—became union-level personal pensioner; 1986-89—CPSU Central Committee candidate member.

A. U. Konstantinov: born 1923; Russian; CPSU member since 1943; marshal of aviation; served 1973-87 as commander of Baku and Moscow Air Defense Forces military districts; 1987—became USSR Ministry of Defense pensioner; 1981-86—CPSU Central Auditing Commission member; 1986-89—CPSU Central Committee candidate member; Hero of the Soviet Union.

T. Kh. Koshoyev: born 1931; Kirghiz; CPSU member since 1952; served 1981-87 as Kirghiz SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman; 1987—became union-level personal pensioner; 1981-86—CPSU Central Auditing Commission member; 1986-89—CPSU Central Committee candidate member; Kirghiz SSR Supreme Soviet deputy.

M. I. Matafonov: born 1928; Russian; CPSU member since 1952; served 1973-86 as Chita CPSU Obkom first secretary; 1986—became union-level personal pensioner; 1976-89—CPSU Central Committee candidate member.

S. Mukashev: born 1927; Kazakh; CPSU member since 1950; served 1985-88 as Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman; 1988—became union-level personal pensioner; 1986-89—CPSU Central Committee candidate member.

Yu. Ya. Ruben: born 1925; Russian; CPSU member since 1953; served 1970-88 as Latvian SSR Council of Ministers chairman; 1988—became union-level personal pensioner; 1971-89—CPSU Central Committee candidate member.

A. M. Rybakov: born 1925; Russian; CPSU member since 1945; served 1971-87 as Pskov CPSU Obkom first secretary; 1987—became union-level personal pensioner; 1976-89—CPSU Central Committee candidate member.

F. T. Sarkisyan: born 1923; Armenian; CPSU member since 1945; academician of Armenian SSR Academy of Sciences, doctor of technical sciences; served 1977-89 as Armenian SSR Council of Ministers chairman; 1989—became union-level personal pensioner; 1981-86—CPSU Central Auditing Commission member; 1986-89—CPSU Central Committee candidate member; Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet deputy; recipient of two USSR State Prizes.

G. N. Seidov: born 1932; Azerbaijani; CPSU member since 1956; served 1981-89 as Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers chairman; 1989—became union-level personal pensioner; 1981-89—CPSU Central Committee candidate member; Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet deputy.

Yu. A. Sklyarov: born 1925; Russian; CPSU member since 1944; candidate of historical sciences; served 1986-88 as CPSU Central Committee Propaganda Department chairman; 1988—became union-level personal pensioner; 1981-89—CPSU Central Committee candidate member.

L. B. Shapiro: born 1927; Jew; CPSU member since 1959; served 1970-87 as Jewish AO CPSU Obkom first secretary; 1987—became union-level personal pensioner; 1976-81—CPSU Central Auditing Commission member; 1981-89—CPSU Central Committee candidate member.

N. M. Shubnikov: born 1924; Russian; CPSU member since 1946; served 1982-87 as USSR ambassador to North Korea; 1987—became union-level personal pensioner; 1986-89—CPSU Central Committee candidate member.

I. P. Yastrebov: born 1911; Russian; CPSU member since 1941; served 1984-89 as CPSU Central Committee Heavy Industry and Power Engineering Department chief; 1989—became union-level personal pensioner; 1971-81—CPSU Central Auditing Commission member; 1981-89—CPSU Central Committee candidate member; RSFSR Supreme Soviet deputy; USSR State Prize laureate.

As reported in IZVESTIYA TsK KPSS (see No 2, p 43 and No 5, p 47) 31 individuals were promoted from candidate to full CPSU Central Committee membership.

The following CPSU Central Committee candidate members have died in the past three years:

V. A. Belikov (1925-1987): CPSU member since 1949; served 1986-87 as commander-in-chief of Soviet Group of Forces in Germany; army general; USSR Supreme Soviet deputy.

R. Myrzashev (1932-1987): CPSU member since 1960; served 1985-87 as Chimkent Kazakh CP Obkom first secretary; USSR Supreme Soviet deputy; Hero of Socialist Labor.

Yu. A. Ovchinnikov (1934-1988): CPSU member since 1962; served 1974-88 as USSR Academy of Sciences vice-president and director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Bioorganic Chemistry imeni M. M. Shemyakin; RSFSR Supreme Soviet deputy; Hero of Socialist Labor; Lenin Prize laureate; USSR State Prize laureate.

A. G. Petrishev (1924-1986): CPSU member since 1951; served 1980-86 as USSR minister of mineral fertilizer production; USSR Supreme Soviet deputy; Hero of Socialist Labor.

The November 1988 CPSU Central Committee Plenum expelled I. Dzhabbarov and A. U. Salimov from their positions as CPSU Central Committee candidate members on account of improper actions on their part.

The following are brief biographical sketches of the 109 current CPSU Central Committee candidate members [Photographs are published with the biographical data.]

CPSU Central Committee Candidate Members

Ageyev, Geniy Yevgenyevich: USSR KGB deputy chairman; colonel-general; born 1929; Russian; CPSU member since 1952; graduate of Irkutsk Mining and Metallurgical Institute; served as Irkutsk Komsomol Obkom department chief beginning in 1952; in party work since 1955, as Bratsk Hydroelectric Power Station Construction Project deputy party committee secretary, party raykom first secretary, Irkutsk CPSU Gorkom first secretary; has worked in state security organs since 1965, as deputy chief and later chief of KGB's Irkutsk Oblast Administration; 1973—became chief of Cadre Administration and party committee secretary under USSR KGB; 1983—became USSR KGB deputy chairman; CPSU Central Committee candidate member since 1986; RSFSR Supreme Soviet deputy.

Aleshin, Georgiy Vasilyevich: Estonian CP Central Committee second secretary; born 1931; Russian; CPSU member since 1957; graduate of Tomsk Rail Transportation Engineers' Electrical and Mechanical Institute; began career in 1954 as assistant engineer of an electric locomotive, later worked as shop foreman and chief of an experimental station of a locomotive depot; in

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Komsomol and party work beginning in 1956, as second and first secretary of a Komsomol raykom in Novosibirsk; 1959—became locomotive depot party committee secretary, later second and first secretary of a party raykom, first secretary of Novosibirsk CPSU Gorkom; 1985—became CPSU Central Committee inspector; 1985—became Estonian CP Central Committee second secretary; CPSU Central Committee candidate member since 1986; Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet deputy.

Alimov, Timur Agzamovich: Uzbek SSR State Committee for the Protection of Nature chairman; born 1936; Uzbek; CPSU member since 1967; graduate of Tashkent Institute of Irrigation Engineering and Agricultural Land Reclamation, CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences; began career in 1959 as an engineer at a planning institute; worked in Afghanistan for two years; starting in 1965 became chief engineer and then chief of Tashkent Reservoir Construction and Installation Administration; beginning in 1969 was Uzbek SSR Council of Ministers department chief and administrator of affairs; 1978—became Tashkent Oblispolkom chairman; 1985—became Tashkent Uzbek CP Obkom first secretary; 1988—became chairman of UzSSR State Committee for the Protection of Nature; CPSU Central Committee candidate member since 1986.

Aripdzhanov, Makhmut Maripovich: Andizhan Uzbek CP Obkom first secretary; born 1938; Uzbek; CPSU member since 1965; graduate of Tashkent Polytechnical Institute, USSR MFA Diplomatic Institute; began career in 1962 as assistant excavator operator; in Komsomol and party work beginning 1964, as combine Komsomol committee secretary, Uzbek Komsomol gorkom first secretary, party gorkom department chief, party gorkom secretary, Uzbek CP Central Committee instructor; 1978—became Angren Party Gorkom first secretary, 1982—became Almalyk Party Gorkom first secretary; in CPSU Central Committee apparatus since 1984; beginning in 1985 became Andizhan Uzbek CP Obkom first secretary; CPSU Central Committee candidate member since 1986; USSR people's deputy.

Basistov, Anatoliy Georgiyevich: General designer, Radio Instrument Building Scientific Research Institute; born 1920; Russian; CPSU member since 1945; studied in 1938-41 at Moscow Power Engineering Institute; graduate of Leningrad Red Army Military Aviation Academy; USSR Academy of Sciences corresponding member; served in the Soviet Army 1941-49; veteran of the Great Patriotic War; beginning in 1949 served as leading engineer, laboratory chief and chief of design bureau; beginning in 1979 became chief designer and scientific-technical administrator, as of 1985 general designer of Radio Instrument Building Scientific Research Institute; CPSU Central Committee candidate member since 1986; Hero of Socialist Labor.

Batsanov, Boris Terentyevich: head of secretariat for USSR Council of Ministers chairman, born 1927; Russian; CPSU member since 1951; graduate of USSR MFA Foreign Trade Institute and Higher Diplomatic School; became Ministry of Foreign Trade consultant in 1949; in diplomatic work beginning 1952, as senior consultant and senior expert on Soviet Control Commission, in apparatus of USSR Supreme Commissar in Germany, served as second secretary of Soviet Embassy in FRG; 1965—became deputy chief of USSR MFA's Third European Department; 1967—became assistant to the chairman, USSR Council of Ministers; 1974—appointed head of secretariat for USSR Council of Ministers chairman; 1976-86—CPSU Central Auditing Commission member; CPSU Central Committee candidate member since 1986; RSFSR Supreme Soviet deputy.

Belyakov, Anatoliy Mikhaylovich: Buryat CPSU Obkom first secretary; born 1933; Russian; CPSU member since 1960; graduate of Kuybyshev Engineering and Construction Institute; began career in 1956 as senior shop foreman on construction of Tom-Usinsk State Regional Electric Power Station, later became work superintendent, sector chief, deputy chief engineer and deputy chief of a construction administration in Kemerovo Oblast; 1964—became Myski Party Gorkom first secretary, Kemerovo Oblast, later served as department chief under Buryat CPSU Obkom; 1970—became Ulan-Ude CPSU Gorkom first secretary; since 1984 Buryat CPSU Obkom first secretary; CPSU Central Committee candidate member since 1986; USSR people's deputy; Buryat ASSR Supreme Soviet deputy.

Bibin, Leonid Alekseyevich: First deputy chairman of USSR State Construction Committee, USSR minister; born 1930; Ukrainian; CPSU member since 1953; graduate of Dnepropetrovsk Rail Transportation Engineering Institute, CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences; candidate of economic sciences; beginning in 1951 worked as crane brigade leader, foreman, deputy section chief on Amur Railway; in 1954 became instructor, later deputy department chief, secretary, second secretary and first secretary of Blagoveshchensk Party Gorkom; 1963—became Amurskaya CPSU Obkom department chief; in the CPSU Central Committee apparatus since 1967; beginning in 1971 became main administration chief, deputy minister, first deputy minister of USSR Ministry of Construction; 1984—appointed USSR Gosplan first deputy chairman; 1986—became USSR Gosstroy first deputy chairman and USSR minister; CPSU Central Committee candidate member since 1986.

Bobovikov, Ratmir Stepanovich: Vladimir CPSU Obkom first secretary; born 1927; Russian; CPSU member since 1947; graduate of Leningrad Electrical Engineering Institute; candidate of technical sciences; in 1944 became machinist at electric power station in Leningrad; beginning in 1952 worked as engineer, CPSU Central Committee party organizer, and party buro secretary of a scientific research institute; 1962—became deputy department chief, Leningrad Party Obkom; 1964—

became obkom department chief and first secretary of Oktyabrskiy Party Raykom; beginning in 1972 served as secretary and later second secretary of Leningrad Party Obkom; became chairman of Leningrad Oblispolkom, 1980; first secretary of Vladimir CPSU Obkom since 1983; CPSU Central Auditing Commission member 1976-81; CPSU Central Committee candidate member since 1986.

Bobykin, Leonid Fedorovich: Sverdlovsk CPSU Obkom first secretary; born 1930; Russian; CPSU member since 1956; graduate of Urals Polytechnical Institute; began career in 1953 as design engineer at Uralmash Plant; beginning in 1955 worked as senior foreman, group leader, leading engineer of a department and chief designer of the Uralmash Plant; starting in 1961 became second and later first secretary of a party raykom, second and later first secretary of Sverdlovsk CPSU Gorkom; beginning in 1976 served as secretary and second secretary of Sverdlovsk CPSU Obkom; in 1983 became first deputy chief and then chief of CPSU Central Committee Light Industry and Consumer Goods Department; 1988—became Sverdlovsk CPSU Obkom first secretary; CPSU Central Committee candidate member since 1986; RSFSR Supreme Soviet deputy.

Borovikova, Zoya Ivanovna: First secretary of Kurganinskiy CPSU Raykom, Krasnodar Kray; born 1939; Russian; CPSU member since 1968; correspondence graduate of CPSU Central Committee Higher Party School; began career in 1957 as motor pool dispatcher; following graduation from a construction tekhnikum worked as a construction worker/technician, foreman, work superintendent and engineer/economist in Pavlodar Oblast and Krasnodar Kray; in party and soviet work beginning in 1971, as party raykom instructor, rayispolkom deputy chairman, secretary and second secretary of a party raykom, and chairman of Kurganinskiy Rayispolkom; 1983—became Kurganinskiy CPSU Raykom first secretary (Krasnodar Kray); CPSU Central Committee candidate member since 1986.

Brakov, Yevgeniy Alekseyevich: General director of Moscow Motor Vehicle Plant imeni I. A. Likhachev (ZIL PO); born 1937; Russian; CPSU member since 1963; graduate of Higher Technical Educational Institution/Plant at Moscow Motor Vehicle Plant imeni I. A. Likhachev; began career in 1956 as a heat specialist at a heat treatment shop at Moscow Motor Vehicle Plant; served in the Soviet Army 1956-57; 1957—became a technician at Motor Vehicle Industry Technology Scientific Research Institute; beginning in 1959 worked as engineer-technologist, senior engineer, deputy shop chief and shop chief at a plant, head of production, deputy chief engineer and deputy general director for production in the ZIL PO; in 1986 became general director of Moscow Motor Vehicle Plant (ZIL PO); CPSU Central Committee candidate member since 1986.

Brezhnev, Vladimir Arkadyevich: USSR Minister of Transport Construction; born 1931; Russian; CPSU

member since 1959; graduate of Odessa Hydraulic Engineering Institute; began career in 1949 as a fitter at Dneprovskiy Metallurgical Plant imeni F. E. Dzerzhinskiy; in the USSR Ministry of Transport Construction system since 1955, as assistant dredge operator, head of an excavators' unit under Daltekhflot Trust in Maritime Kray; beginning in 1959 became senior work superintendent, deputy chief and chief of a construction administration, deputy administrator and administrator of Yugoaptransstroy Trust in Lvov and Kiev; beginning in 1975 served as deputy and first deputy minister (since 1985 minister) of USSR Ministry of Transport Construction; CPSU Central Committee candidate member since 1986.

Brutents, Karen Nersesovich: CPSU Central Committee International Department first deputy chief; born 1924; Armenian; CPSU member since 1945; graduate of Azerbaijan State Medical Institute, Azerbaijan State University and CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences; doctor of historical sciences, candidate of philosophical sciences and professor; began career in 1941 as an apprentice inspector in technical inspection department of a plant in Baku, then became full inspector, senior inspector, and deputy department chief at the plant; worked as a physician following graduation in 1946; in party work since 1950, as lecturer and head of a lecturers' group under the Baku Party Gorkom; 1959—became consulting editor of PROBLEMY MIRA I SOTSIALIZMA; in the CPSU Central Committee apparatus since 1961, serving as abstractor, consultant, deputy chief and first deputy chief of CPSU Central Committee International Department; CPSU Central Committee candidate member since 1986.

Budyka, Aleksandr Dmitriyevich: USSR minister of grain products; born 1927; Greek; CPSU member since 1949; graduate of Rostov Institute of Agricultural Machine Building; candidate of economic sciences; beginning in 1943 worked as fitter at a plant, chief engineer and director of a machine-tractor station, and kolkhoz chairman; beginning in 1961 served as deputy department chief under Stavropol Party Kraykom, head of kolkhoz-sovkhoz production administration and department chief under CPSU kraykom; 1971—became Stavropol Krayispolkom deputy chairman; 1980—became CPSU Central Committee Agricultural Department deputy chief, later CPSU Central Committee Agriculture and Food Industry Department deputy chief; USSR minister of grain products since 1987; CPSU Central Committee candidate member since 1986.

Busygin, Mikhail Ivanovich: USSR minister of light industry; born 1931; Russian; CPSU member since 1952; graduate of Urals Wood Technology Institute; candidate of economic sciences; began career in 1950 as technician-designer at Irbit Vehicle Trailer Plant; later worked as chief mechanic, chief engineer and director of an enterprise in Perm Oblast; became party gorkom first secretary in 1960; in 1962 became director of Solikamsk Cellulose and Paper Combine; beginning in 1968 served as main administration head, deputy minister, first

deputy minister and, as of 1982, minister of USSR Ministry of the Timber, Pulp and Paper and Wood Processing Industry; became USSR minister of the timber industry in 1988; CPSU Central Committee candidate member since 1986.

Valov, Yuriy Nikolayevich: CPSU Central Committee first deputy administrator of affairs; born 1934; Russian; CPSU member since 1961; graduate of Moscow Power Engineering Institute; began career in 1958 as an engineer, later becoming head of a production sector and deputy head of testing and measurement service for the Mosenergo Moscow Cable Network, head of power distribution network service under a Mosenergo administration; in party and soviet work since 1966 as instructor and deputy department chief under Moscow Party Gorkom, rayispolkom chairman; 1977—became Moscow Party Gorkom department chief; 1981—became Moscow Gorispolkom deputy chairman; since 1983 CPSU Central Committee first deputy administrator of affairs; CPSU Central Committee candidate member since 1986.

Varennikov, Valentin Ivanovich: Commander-in-chief of infantry, USSR deputy minister of defense, army general; born 1923; Russian; CPSU member since 1944; graduate of Military Academy imeni M. V. Frunze, USSR Armed Forces General Staff Military Academy; has served in the Soviet Army since 1941; veteran of the Great Patriotic War; held various commands after the war, commanding a regiment, division, corps and army; in 1971 became first deputy commander of the Soviet Group of Forces in Germany; 1973—became commander of Carpathian Military District; deputy chief of USSR Armed Forces General Staff since 1979; commander-in-chief of infantry and USSR deputy minister of defense since 1989; CPSU Central Committee candidate member since 1986; USSR people's deputy; RSFSR Supreme Soviet deputy; Hero of the Soviet Union.

Varnachev, Yevgeniy Andreyevich: USSR minister of construction, road and municipal machine building; born 1932; Russian; CPSU member since 1963; graduate of Urals Polytechnical Institute; began career in 1956 as shift foreman at the Uralmash Plant, later became head of shift, senior foreman, first deputy chief of the production planning administration and deputy plant director, serving simultaneously with the latter position as deputy general director of the Uralmash Association; beginning in 1975 became chief engineer, in 1978 general director of Uralmash PO; 1985—became USSR minister of construction, road and municipal machine building; CPSU Central Committee candidate member since 1986; USSR State Prize laureate.

Vasilyev, Lev Borisovich: USSR Council of Ministers State Commission deputy chairman, USSR minister; born 1925; Russian; CPSU member since 1951; graduate of Moscow Automotive Institute; beginning in 1941 worked as a loading hand and driver for a truck pool; served in the Soviet Army 1943-44; veteran of the Great Patriotic War; beginning in 1948 became inspector and

later inspection sector chief under USSR Gosstab at Moscow Economy Car Plant; beginning in 1953 was employed as sector head, shop foreman, head of production line and director at the same plant; 1968—became USSR deputy minister of the motor vehicle industry, KamAZ general director, later AZLK general director; 1983—became USSR Gosplan deputy chairman; 1984—became USSR minister of light and food industry machine building; deputy chairman of USSR Council of Ministers State Commission and USSR minister since 1988; CPSU Central Committee candidate member since 1986; Hero of Socialist Labor.

Velichko, Igor Ivanovich: Supervisor and general designer of a machine building design bureau; born 1934; Ukrainian; CPSU member since 1964; graduate of Urals Polytechnical Institute; doctor of technical sciences; following graduate from the institute in 1957 worked at a scientific research institute, rising from engineer to general director of a scientific PO; 1985—became supervisor and general designer of a machine building design bureau; CPSU Central Committee candidate member since 1986; Lenin Prize laureate; USSR State Prize laureate.

Vladychenko, Ivan Maksimovich: USSR State Committee for Supervision of Safe Working Practices in Industry and for Mine Supervision chairman; born 1924; Ukrainian; CPSU member since 1943; graduate of Donetsk Industrial Institute; served in the Soviet Army 1941-45; veteran of the Great Patriotic War; beginning in 1951 worked as assistant supervisor and supervisor of a mine sector; in party work since 1952, as second secretary of Chistyakovo [now called Torez] Gorkom and first secretary of Snezhnyanskiy Party Raykom, Donetsk Oblast; 1959—became Coal Industry Workers' Trade Union Central Committee chairman; 1964—became AUCCTU secretary; 1981—appointed chairman of USSR State Committee for Supervision of Safe Working Practices in Industry and for Mine Supervision; CPSU Central Auditing Commission member 1961-66; CPSU Central Committee candidate member since 1966.

Girenko, Andrey Nikolayevich: First secretary of Crimean UkSSR CP Obkom; born 1936; Ukrainian; CPSU member since 1963; graduate of Krivoy Rog Mining and Ores Institute, CPSU Central Committee Correspondence Higher Party School; began career in 1958 as electricians' brigade leader in an electrical shop of an ore administration in Krivoy Rog, later becoming engineer, senior engineer and mechanic; beginning in 1962 became secretary of the ore administration's Komsomol committee, Komsomol gorkom and obkom first secretary, second secretary and first secretary of the Ukrainian Komsomol Central Committee; 1975—became Ukrainian CP Central Committee inspector and later second secretary of Kherson Party Obkom; 1980—first secretary of Kherson Party Obkom; since 1987 Crimean Party Obkom first secretary; CPSU Central Committee candidate member since 1981; USSR people's deputy.

Gladkiy, Ivan Ivanovich: USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems chairman; born 1930; Ukrainian; CPSU member since 1953; graduate of Kharkov Polytechnical Institute; began career in 1949 as agricultural and forestry land reclamation brigade leader on a sovkhoz; served in the Soviet Army 1950-54; beginning in 1954 worked as fitter, machine operator, shift supervisor, section supervisor and deputy shop foreman at the Severodonetsk Chemical Combine; beginning in 1964 served as chairman of plant trade union committee and chairman of UkSSR sector trade union committee, in 1970 becoming secretary of the UkSSR Trade Union Council; AUCCTU secretary since 1981; became USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems chairman in 1986; CPSU Central Committee candidate member since 1986; Hero of Socialist Labor.

Gonchar, Aleksandr Terentyevich: Writer; born 1918; Ukrainian; CPSU member since 1946; studied at Kharkov University until 1941, graduated from Dnepropetrovsk State University after the war; academician, UkSSR Academy of Sciences; served in the Soviet Army 1941-45; veteran of the Great Patriotic War; in graduate studies under the UkSSR Academy of Sciences beginning in 1946, later in creative literary work; served 1959-71 as UkSSR Writers' Union chairman; 1959—became USSR Writers' Union secretary of the board; 1986—became USSR Writers' Union Board Secretariat Bureau member; since 1975 Ukrainian Republic Committee for the Defense of Peace chairman; CPSU Central Committee candidate member since 1976; USSR people's deputy; Hero of Socialist Labor; Lenin Prize laureate; three-time USSR State Prize laureate.

Gramov, Marat Vladimirovich: USSR State Committee for Physical Culture and Sports chairman; born 1927; Russian; CPSU member since 1951; graduate of Saratov Higher Party School; candidate of historical sciences; served in the Soviet Army 1944-48; since 1948 in Komsomol, journalistic and party work in Stavropol Kray; beginning in 1962 served as deputy and first deputy editor of kray-level newspaper STAVROPOLSKAYA PRAVDA; 1964—became deputy department head under Stavropol CPSU Kraykom; beginning in 1967 worked as instructor, sector head and deputy Propaganda Department head under CPSU Central Committee; 1983—became chairman of USSR Council of Ministers Committee for Physical Culture and Sports, in 1986 USSR State Committee for Physical Culture and Sports chairman; CPSU Central Committee candidate member since 1986.

Gribachev, Nikolay Matveyevich: Editor-in-chief of the magazine SOVETSKIY SOYUZ; born 1910; Russian; CPSU member since 1943; graduate of Brasovskiy Hydraulic Engineering Tekhnikum, completed two courses at Literary Institute in 1941; began career in 1932 as a supervising hydraulic engineer in Karelia; beginning in 1933 worked as a writer for the newspaper KRASNAYA KARELIYA and department head for newspaper RABOCHIY PUT in Smolensk; served in the Soviet Army 1941-48; veteran of the Great Patriotic

War; beginning in 1948 worked on the editorial staffs of OKTYABR and LITERATURNAYA GAZETA; was editor-in-chief of SOVETSKIY SOYUZ 1950-54 and since 1956; USSR Writers' Union secretary of the board; CPSU Central Committee candidate member since 1961; RSFSR Supreme Soviet deputy; Hero of Socialist Labor; Lenin Prize laureate; two-time USSR State Prize laureate.

Grintsov, Ivan Grigoryevich: Ukrainian CP Central Committee secretary; born in 1935; Ukrainian; CPSU member since 1960; graduate of Luganskoye Agricultural Institute; began career in 1957 as a kolkhoz agronomist, later became chairman of a kolkhoz in Donetsk Oblast; 1965 - - became head of rayon agricultural administration; 1967—became first secretary of Velikonovoselkovskiy Party Raykom; 1971—became Donetsk Party Obkom first secretary; 1975—became Sumy Party Obkom first secretary; became Ukrainian CP Central Committee secretary in 1988; CPSU Central Committee candidate member since 1976; USSR people's deputy.

Dmitriyev, Valentin Ivanovich: Soviet Ambassador to Ethiopia; born 1927; Russian; CPSU member since 1947; graduate of Odessa Hydraulic Engineering Institute, CPSU Central Committee Correspondence Higher Party School; served in the Soviet Navy 1943-50; beginning in 1955 worked as a foreman, senior work superintendent, chief engineer and head of a construction administration; 1959—became party raykom secretary; beginning in 1961 served as secretary of a trust party committee and first secretary of Magnitogorsk and Chelyabinsk party gorkoms; 1979—became CPSU Central Committee inspector; 1980—became Latvian CP Central Committee second secretary; 1986—appointed Soviet Ambassador to Ethiopia; CPSU Central Committee candidate member since 1981.

Dmitriyev, Ivan Nikolayevich: Consultant to the USSR Industrial Construction Bank Board; born 1920; Russian; CPSU member since 1945; graduate of Gorkiy Civil Engineering Institute; began career in 1940 as an instrument inspector, later worked as shift foreman, section mechanic and section chief in a shop of the Chernorechenskiy Chemical Plant in Gorkiy Oblast; beginning in 1948 worked as foreman, work superintendent and administration head at Gorkiy Hydroelectric Power Plant; 1958—became chief of a construction and installation trust in the city of Dzerzhinsk; 1964—became Gorkiy Party Obkom secretary; 1969—became CPSU Central Committee Construction Department head; 1985—RSFSR Council of Ministers deputy chairman; retired in 1987; became USSR Industrial Construction Bank Board consultant in 1988; member of CPSU Central Auditing Commission 1971-81; CPSU Central Committee candidate member since 1981; RSFSR Supreme Soviet deputy; two-time USSR State Prize laureate.

Dybenko, Nikolay Kirillovich: Soviet Ambassador to Mozambique; born 1928; Russian; CPSU member since

1951; graduate of Siberian Metallurgical Institute, CPSU Central Committee Correspondence Higher Party School; candidate of economic sciences; beginning in 1952 worked at a plant as engineer-technologist, section chief, deputy shop chief and party buro secretary; beginning in 1955 served as department head and second secretary of a party raykom, rayispolkom chairman, raykom first secretary, and department head and second secretary of an industrial obkom; 1964—became Novosibirsk Party Gorkom first secretary, Novosibirsk Party Obkom secretary in 1966; in the CPSU Central Committee apparatus since 1973; became Lithuanian CP Central Committee second secretary in 1978; Soviet Ambassador to Mozambique since 1986; CPSU Central Committee candidate member since 1981.

Yeliseyev, Yevgeniy Aleksandrovich: Kabardino-Balkar CPSU Obkom first secretary; born 1936; Russian; CPSU member since 1959; graduate of CPSU Central Committee Correspondence Higher Party School; candidate of economic sciences; served in the Soviet Army 1956-60; beginning in 1960 worked as machinists' foreman on drilling equipment, electricians' foreman, and secretary of plant Komsomol committee; beginning in 1962 worked as instructor and department head under a party raykom; beginning in 1969 was second secretary of Kirovskiy Party Raykom, second secretary of Krasnoyarsk Party Gorkom and department head under Krasnoyarsk Party Kraykom; in the CPSU Central Committee apparatus since 1981; 1983—became first secretary of Khakass CPSU Obkom, later first secretary of Kabardino-Balkar CPSU Obkom; CPSU Central Committee candidate member since 1986; USSR people's deputy; Kabardino-Balkar ASSR Supreme Soviet deputy.

Yefimov, Anatoliy Stepanovich: UzSSR People's Control Committee Chairman; born 1939; Russian; CPSU member since 1966; graduate of Leningrad Mechanical Institute, CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences; began career in 1962 as design engineer at the Machine Tool Building Plant imeni Ya. M. Sverdlov in Leningrad; beginning in 1965 served as second and first secretary of a Komsomol raykom, secretary and first secretary of Leningrad Komsomol Obkom; beginning in 1973 was plant party committee secretary, second and first secretary of Tikhvin Party Gorkom and Vyborgskiy Party Raykom in Leningrad; 1986—became Navoi Party Obkom (UzSSR) first secretary; 1988—became UzSSR People's Control Committee chairman; CPSU Central Committee candidate member since 1986; USSR people's deputy; USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities member.

Zakharov, Vladimir Andreyevich: Kalmyk CPSU Obkom first secretary; born 1936; Russian; CPSU member since 1961; graduate of Moscow Agricultural Mechanization and Electrification Institute, CPSU Central Committee Correspondence Higher Party School; began career in 1959 as a kolkhoz mechanic-engineer, later worked as chief engineer of Pokrovskiy Kolkhoz, Vladimir Oblast; beginning in 1961 in Komsomol work in Vladimir Oblast; beginning in 1967 party raykom first secretary; ,

head of oblast agricultural administration, deputy and first deputy chairman of Vladimir Oblispolkom; 1984—became Vladimir CPSU Obkom second secretary; 1985—appointed CPSU Central Committee inspector, has worked since December 1985 as Kalmyk CPSU Obkom first secretary; CPSU Central Committee candidate member since 1986; USSR people's deputy; Kalmyk ASSR Supreme Soviet deputy.

Ivanova, Tatyana Georgiyevna: RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium deputy chairman; born 1940; Russian; CPSU member since 1968; graduated from Moscow State University imeni M. V. Lomonosov, CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences; began career in 1957 as receptionist at a children's city hospital in Moscow; worked at publishing facilities of MOLODAYA GVARDIYA, NOVYY MIR and NAUKA 1960-74; became secretary of Nauka Publishers Party Buro in 1972; beginning in 1974 was department head, second secretary and (as of 1979) first secretary of Kalinin Party Raykom, Moscow; 1985—became RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium deputy chairman; CPSU Central Committee candidate member since 1981; RSFSR Supreme Soviet deputy.

Iyevlev, Aleksandr Ivanovich: Union-level personal pensioner; born 1926; Russian; CPSU member since 1950; graduate of Voronezh Agricultural Institute (by correspondence) and Voronezh Higher Party School; candidate of economic sciences; began career in 1941 as brigade accountant on a kolkhoz; served in the Soviet Army 1943-50; veteran of the Great Patriotic War; subsequently did Komsomol work; in party work since 1952, as propagandist, department head, secretary, second secretary and first secretary of a party raykom; 1971—became Voronezh CPSU Obkom secretary; 1977—became USSR deputy minister of agriculture; 1985—became USSR Gosagroprom first deputy chairman, USSR minister; retired in 1989; CPSU Central Committee candidate member since 1986.

Ilichev, Leonid Fedorovich: USSR deputy minister of foreign affairs; born 1906; Russian; CPSU member since 1924; graduated from North Caucasus Communist University, Red Professors' Institute; academician, USSR Academy of Sciences; beginning in 1918 worked as apprentice and assistant foundryman; since 1924 in Komsomol and educational work in Krasnodar, Rostov-on-Don and Ordzhonikidze; beginning in 1938 was responsible secretary of magazine BOLSHEVIK and newspaper PRAVDA; became IZVESTIYA editor-in-chief in 1944; in All-Union CP (Bolshevik) Central Committee apparatus beginning 1948; in 1949 became deputy editor-in-chief, 1951 editor-in-chief, of PRAVDA; 1953—became USSR MFA department head; 1958—became head of CPSU Central Committee Department of Propaganda and Agitation in Union Republics; 1961—became CPSU Central Committee secretary, as of 1962 simultaneously serving as head of CPSU Central Committee Ideological Department; 1965—became USSR deputy minister of foreign affairs; CPSU Central Committee candidate member 1952-56;

CPSU Central Auditing Commission member 1956-61; CPSU Central Committee member 1961-66; CPSU Central Auditing Commission member 1976-81; CPSU Central Committee candidate member since 1981; Lenin Prize laureate.

Kadyrov, Gayrat Khamidullayevich: UzSSR Council of Ministers chairman; born 1939; Uzbek; CPSU member since 1965; graduate of Tashkent Polytechnical Institute, CPSU Central Committee Higher Party School; began career in 1962, working as division engineer, chief designer, group leader, sector leader and party committee secretary at Chirchik Transformer Plant; beginning in 1970 worked as instructor and inspector in an Uzbek CP Central Committee department; 1975—became Chirchik Party Gorkom first secretary; 1979—appointed department head, later secretary, of Uzbek CP Central Committee; became UzSSR Council of Ministers chairman in 1984; CPSU Central Committee candidate member since 1986; USSR people's deputy; UzSSR Supreme Soviet deputy.

Kazakov, Vasily Ivanovich: RSFSR Council of Ministers deputy chairman; born 1927; Russian; CPSU member since 1947; graduate of All-Union Correspondence Machine Building Institute; began career in 1941 as fitter at Mitrokhinsk Weaving Factory, Moscow Oblast; beginning in 1944 worked as foreman, designer and shop supervisor at Machine Tool Plant imeni Ya. M. Sverdlov in Leningrad; starting in 1954 worked as instructor and deputy department head of a party gorkom, deputy head and head of a party obkom department, first secretary of a party raykom in Leningrad, and second secretary of Leningrad CPSU Obkom; 1973—became Leningrad Gorispolkom chairman; 1976—became RSFSR Council of Ministers deputy chairman; CPSU Central Committee member 1971-81; CPSU Central Committee candidate member since 1981; USSR people's deputy.

Kalin, Ivan Petrovich: MSSR Council of Ministers chairman; born 1935; Moldavian; CPSU member since 1955; graduate of Kishinev Agricultural Institute, CPSU Central Committee Higher Party School; candidate of economic sciences; began career in 1960 as kolkhoz agronomist; beginning in 1963 worked as inspector in a Moldavian CP Central Committee department, party committee secretary, party raykom first secretary, Moldavian CP Central Committee deputy department head; 1980—became MSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium deputy chairman; became MSSR Council of Ministers chairman in 1985; CPSU Central Committee candidate member since 1981; USSR people's deputy; MSSR Supreme Soviet deputy.

Kamay, Aleksey Stepanovich: Gomel Belorussian CP Obkom first secretary; born 1936; Belorussian; CPSU member since 1960; graduate of Belorussian Agricultural Academy, CPSU Central Committee Higher Party School; began career in 1959 as sovkhoz mechanic, later becoming Komsomol raykom first secretary and secretary of a Komsomol committee under a kolkhoz-sovkhoz

production administration; beginning in 1963 worked as chief engineer and chief of a rayon agricultural production administration; starting in 1968 became raykom first secretary and Mogilev Party Obkom secretary under Belorussian CP; 1979—became Belorussian CP Central Committee department head; became Gomel Oblispolkom chairman in 1982, Gomel Party Obkom first secretary in 1985; CPSU Central Committee candidate member since 1986.

Kapitanets, Ivan Matveyevich: First deputy commander-in-chief of the Navy and fleet admiral; born 1928; Russian; CPSU member since 1952; graduated from Naval Academy and USSR Armed Forces General Staff Military Academy; has served in the Navy since 1946; in the Northern Fleet since 1950, as head of a command department on an destroyer, destroyer commanding officer, chief of staff and commander of a task force; 1973—appointed flotilla commander in the Pacific Fleet; 1978—became first deputy commander, and in 1981 commander, of Baltic Fleet; 1985—took command of the Northern Fleet; 1988—became first deputy commander-in-chief of the Navy; CPSU Central Committee candidate member since 1986.

Karabasov, Yuri Sergeevich: Moscow CPSU Gorkom secretary; born 1939; Russian; CPSU member since 1962; graduated from Moscow Steel and Alloys Institute; doctor of technical sciences and professor; beginning in 1961 did educational and scientific work at Moscow Steel and Alloys Institute, served as secretary of the institute's party committee; beginning in 1972 was department head and secretary of party's Oktyabrskiy Raykom, department head under Moscow Party Gorkom; 1980—became first deputy chairman of the board, All-Union Znaniye Society; 1981—became prorector of USSR Council of Ministers Academy of the Economy; 1983—became Gagarinskiy Party Raykom first secretary, secretary of Moscow Party Gorkom in 1986; CPSU Central Committee candidate member since 1986; RSFSR Supreme Soviet deputy.

Kiselev, Gennadiy Nikolayevich: Chairman of Soviet of Nationalities Commission on Consumer Goods, Trade, Municipal, Everyday and Other Services, also Kirghiz CP Central Committee second secretary; born 1936; Russian; CPSU member since 1961; graduate of Tomsk Polytechnical Institute, CPSU Central Committee Correspondence Higher Party School, CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences; candidate of economic sciences; began career in 1959 as shop foreman in a Magadan fish combine; beginning in 1960 served as Magadan Komsomol Gorkom second secretary, second and (as of 1965) first secretary of Magadan Komsomol Obkom; beginning in 1969 worked as sector head and deputy department head under All-Union Komsomol Central Committee; in 1972 became first secretary of Chukotsk Party Okrug Committee, later Magadan Party Obkom secretary; 1985—became CPSU Central Committee inspector, in December 1985—Kirghiz CP Central Committee second secretary; 1989—appointed Soviet of Nationalities commission chairman; CPSU

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Central Committee candidate member since 1986; USSR people's deputy; USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities member; KiSSR Supreme Soviet deputy.

Kletskov, Leonid Gerasimovich: Grodno Belorussian CP Obkom first secretary, born 1918; Belorussian; CPSU member since 1940; graduate of CPSU Central Committee Higher Party School; began career in 1935 as head of a village reading room, later became secretary and then chairman of the village soviet, rayispolkom secretary and Komsomol raykom secretary in Vitebsk Oblast; served in the Soviet Army 1941-47; veteran of the Great Patriotic War; beginning in 1947 was in Komsomol, party and soviet work in Molodechno Oblast; beginning in 1960 served as department head and secretary of a rural party obkom and chairman of the Party-State Control Commission under Minsk Party Obkom and Minsk Oblispolkom; 1966—became Belorussian CP Central Committee department head; 1972—became Grodno Party Obkom first secretary; CPSU Central Auditing Commission member, 1976-81; CPSU Central Committee candidate member since 1981; USSR people's deputy; Hero of Socialist Labor.

Kozlovskiy, Yevgeniy Aleksandrovich: USSR minister of geology; born 1929; Russian; CPSU member since 1955; graduate of Moscow Geological Survey Institute; doctor of technical sciences and professor; began career in 1953 as senior drilling foreman, later working as chief engineer on a number of expeditions and head of the Komsomol Expedition of the Far Eastern Geological Administration; beginning in 1965 head of a technical administration and starting in 1970 member of the board, RSFSR Ministry of Geology; 1973—became director of the All-Union Research Institute on the Economics of Minerals Resources and Geological Survey Work; 1974—appointed USSR deputy minister (after 1975 minister) of geology; CPSU Central Committee candidate member since 1976; Lenin Prize laureate.

Kolmogorov, Georgiy Dmitriyevich: USSR State Committee for Standards chairman; born 1929; Russian; CPSU member since 1952; graduate of Novosibirsk Electrical Engineering Institute; doctor of technical sciences; began career in 1945 as a tractor driver for a machine-tractor station; served in the Soviet Army 1949-53; beginning in 1957 worked as foreman, senior foreman and deputy shop supervisor at a plant in Novosibirsk; beginning in 1960 worked as head of the central laboratory for measurement equipment, head of a production line, deputy chief engineer and experimental design bureau head at Kherson Semiconductor Instrument Plant; became director of the semiconductor plant in 1966; 1973—became general director of Elektronpribor Technical PO in Fryazino, Moscow Oblast; 1975—appointed USSR first deputy minister of the communications equipment industry; 1984—appointed USSR State Committee for Standards chairman; CPSU Central Committee candidate member since 1986; USSR State Prize laureate.

Kolomiyets, Yuriy Afanasyevich: UkSSR Council of Ministers first deputy chairman, chairman of UkSSR Gosagroprom; born 1925; Ukrainian; CPSU member since 1953; graduate of Usman Agricultural Institute; served in the Soviet Army 1944-48; veteran of the Great Patriotic War; beginning in 1954 in economic, party and soviet work in Cherkassy Oblast, after 1965 secretary of Cherkassy Party Obkom; beginning in 1970 served as UkSSR deputy minister and first deputy minister of agriculture; 1977—appointed UkSSR minister of sovkhozes; 1979—became UkSSR Gosagroprom first deputy chairman; 1980—became UkSSR Council of Ministers first deputy chairman and simultaneously beginning in 1985 republic Gosagroprom chairman; CPSU Central Committee candidate member since 1981; USSR people's deputy; UkSSR Supreme Soviet deputy.

Korkin, Aleksandr Gavrilovich: USSR first deputy minister of the coal industry; born 1927; Russian; CPSU member since 1949; graduate of Magnitogorsk Mining and Metallurgical Institute; beginning in 1949 worked as work superintendent in a construction administration of the Karaganda State Regional Electric Power Station; beginning in 1951 worked as party gorkom department head, construction administration party buro secretary and instructor in a department of the Kazakh CP Central Committee; starting in 1956 was head of a construction administration, party committee secretary of a trust and party gorkom first secretary; 1961—became head of a construction trust; 1972—appointed KaSSR minister of heavy industrial construction; beginning in 1975 served as Kazakh CP Central Committee secretary and later second secretary; 1979—became Karaganda Obkom first secretary; 1986—appointed USSR first deputy minister of the coal industry; CPSU Central Committee candidate member since 1981.

Korolev, Mikhail Antonovich: USSR State Committee for Statistics chairman; born 1931; Russian; CPSU member since 1960; graduated from Moscow Economics Institute; doctor of economic sciences and professor; began career in 1954 as assistant, later became docent, department head and senior scientific associate; 1966—became rector of Moscow Institute of Economics and Statistics; beginning in 1972 served as deputy head and first deputy head and, as of 1985, head of USSR Central Statistical Administration; 1987—appointed USSR State Committee for Statistics chairman; CPSU Central Committee candidate member since 1986.

Kochetkov, Yuriy Petrovich: Deputy chairman of the presidium, Union of Soviet Societies of Friendship and Cultural Ties With Foreign Countries; born 1932; Russian; CPSU member since 1956; graduated from Saratov Polytechnical Institute; began career in 1951 as assistant foreman, later foreman, at Saratov Aviation Plant; 1954—became plant Komsomol organizer; beginning in 1955 served as first secretary of Komsomol raykom, second and first secretary of Saratov Komsomol Gorkom and second and first secretary of Saratov

Komsomol Obkom; 1967—became plant party committee secretary and later party raykom first secretary; 1974—became Saratov Party Gorkom first secretary; became CPSU Central Committee inspector in 1984; became Armenian CP Central Committee second secretary in 1985; Soviet Friendship Societies deputy chairman since 1989; CPSU Central Committee candidate member since 1986.

Kravtsov, Boris Vasilyevich: USSR minister of justice; born 1922; Russian; CPSU member since 1943; graduate of Moscow School of Jurisprudence and All-Union Correspondence Institute of Jurisprudence; served in the Soviet Army 1941-44; veteran of the Great Patriotic War; 1947—became member of the line (transport) court in Moscow-Oka Basin; 1950—became senior auditor, later party buro secretary under USSR Ministry of Justice; in CPSU Central Committee apparatus since 1956; became RSFSR first deputy procurator in 1960, RSFSR procurator in 1971; became USSR minister of justice in 1984; CPSU Central Committee candidate member since 1986; Hero of the Soviet Union.

Kryuchkov, Vasily Dmitriyevich: Ukrainian CP Central Committee Defense Industry Department head; born 1928; Russian; CPSU member since 1949; graduate of Dnepropetrovsk State University; in soviet work beginning 1945; beginning 1951 worked as foreman, senior foreman, deputy shop supervisor, shop supervisor and party committee secretary at a machine building plant in Dnepropetrovsk; became head of Ukrainian CP Central Committee Defense Industry Department in 1974, Ukrainian Central Committee Defense Industry Department secretary and department head in 1984; 1988—became Defense Industry Department head; CPSU Central Committee candidate member since 1986; Ukrainian CP Central Committee candidate member since 1984; UkSSR Supreme Soviet deputy; USSR State Prize laureate.

Kuanyshev, Orazbek Sultanovich: KaSSR minister of grain products; born 1935; Kazakh; CPSU member since 1961; graduated from Kazakh State Agricultural Institute; began career in 1952 as school teacher; beginning in 1958 worked as sovkhoz agronomist, rayon planning administration economist, deputy sovkhoz director and sovkhoz director; in party and soviet work beginning in 1965, as party raykom second secretary and first deputy head of agricultural administration under the Tselinograd Oblispolkom; 1969—became raykom first secretary, later Tselinograd Party Obkom second secretary; became Kokchetav Party Obkom first secretary in 1978, Turgay Party Obkom first secretary in 1985; became KaSSR minister of grain products in 1988; CPSU Central Committee candidate member since 1981; Hero of Socialist Labor.

Kulidzhanov, Lev Aleksandrovich: Movie director and producer at Central Children's and Young People's Movie Studio imeni M. Gorky; born 1924; Armenian; CPSU member since 1962; graduate of All-Union State Institute of Cinematography; professor; beginning in

1941 worked as head of a military hospital library, later as a fitter at a plant in Tbilisi; beginning in 1946 worked as a methods teacher in the Komsomol tourism and excursions administration of Tbilisi and as a foreman of a geological unit; became a director at the Studio imeni Gorky in 1954; in 1963 became head of a main administration under the USSR Council of Ministers State Committee for Cinematography, serving simultaneously as a member of its board until 1986; 1965—became USSR Union of Cinematographers Board first secretary; since 1986 a director-producer at the Studio imeni Gorky; CPSU Central Auditing Commission member, 1966-76; CPSU Central Committee candidate member since 1976; Hero of Socialist Labor; Lenin Prize laureate; USSR people's performer.

Laptev, Ivan Dmitriyevich: IZVESTIYA editor-in-chief; born 1934; Russian; CPSU member since 1960; graduate of Siberian Highway Institute, CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences; doctor of philosophical sciences; began career in 1952 as a stoker, later working as a crane operator, mechanic and excavator operator at Omsk River Port; 1960—became a teacher at the Siberian Highway Institute and an instructor for the Soviet Army Central Sports Club; beginning in 1964 worked as literary associate and special correspondent for SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, editorial consultant for KOMMUNIST; beginning in 1973 worked as lecturer and consultant in the CPSU Central Committee Propaganda Department; 1978—became editor of a department, later deputy editor-in-chief, at PRAVDA; 1984—appointed editor-in-chief of IZVESTIYA; CPSU Central Committee candidate member since 1986; USSR people's deputy; USSR Supreme Soviet of the Union member.

Listov, Vladimir Vladimirovich: USSR Council of Ministers Bureau for the Chemical and Timber Complex deputy chairman, Scientific-Technical Council chairman; born 1931; Russian; CPSU member since 1962; graduate of Tomsk Polytechnical Institute; began career in 1955 as foreman, later workshop chief and shop engineer at a plant in Voroshilovgrad Oblast; beginning in 1956 worked as shift foreman, shop foreman, deputy director and director of Kommunar Plant in Kemerovo; 1964—became obkom department head, later first secretary of Kemerovo Party Gorkom; beginning in 1970 served as main administration head and deputy minister under USSR Ministry of the Chemical Industry; became CPSU Central Committee Chemical Industry Department head in 1977, USSR minister of the chemical industry in 1980; became head of USSR Council of Ministers administration of affairs in 1986, bureau deputy chairman in 1988; CPSU Central Committee candidate member since 1981; USSR State Prize laureate.

Loginov, Vadim Petrovich: Soviet ambassador to Yugoslavia; born 1927; Russian; CPSU member since 1950; graduate of Leningrad Shipbuilding Institute, USSR MFA Higher Diplomatic School; beginning in 1944

worked as cabinetmaker's apprentice, following graduation from institute held engineering positions at Izhorskiy Plant; in Komsomol work beginning in 1953, in 1958 became first secretary of Leningrad Komsomol Obkom and All-Union Komsomol Central Committee secretary; beginning in 1961 served as Leningrad Party Obkom deputy department head and Vyborg Party Gorkom first secretary; worked at Soviet embassies in the United States and Poland beginning in 1968; became USSR MFA department head in 1974; 1978—appointed Soviet ambassador to Angola; 1985—became USSR deputy minister of foreign affairs; in the CPSU Central Committee apparatus since 1988; became ambassador to Yugoslavia in 1988; CPSU Central Committee candidate member since 1986.

Lukyanenko, Vladimir Matveyevich: USSR minister of chemical and petroleum machine building; born 1937; Ukrainian; CPSU member since 1963; graduate of Kharkov Polytechnical Institute, Ukrainian Correspondence Polytechnical Institute; candidate of technical sciences; began career in 1961 as assistant foreman, later senior foreman, assistant shop supervisor, shop supervisor, chief engineer and director of Sumy Machine Building Plant; 1976—became general director of Sumy Machine Building PO imeni M. V. Frunze; 1986—became USSR minister of chemical and petroleum machine building; CPSU Central Committee candidate member since 1986; Hero of Socialist Labor; USSR State Prize laureate.

Lunkov, Nikolay Mitrofanovich: Soviet ambassador to Italy; born 1919; Russian; CPSU member since 1940; graduate of CPSU Central Committee Higher Party School; began career in 1936 as head of a village reading room in Ryazan Oblast; worked at motor vehicle plants in Moscow and Ulyanovsk beginning in 1937; entered the USSR People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs (MFA) apparatus in 1943, serving as USSR interim charge d'affaires in Switzerland, assistant political advisor of the Soviet Control Commission and apparatus of the Soviet Supreme Commissar in Germany, and Soviet Embassy adviser in Sweden; beginning in 1957 worked as deputy department head, department head and member of the board under the USSR MFA and Soviet ambassador to Norway, in 1973 becoming ambassador to Great Britain and, simultaneously, to Malta; became ambassador to Italy in 1980; CPSU Central Auditing Commission member 1976-81; CPSU Central Committee candidate member since 1981.

Mamarasulov, Salidzhan: Surkhandarinskaya Uzbek CP Obkom first secretary; born 1930; Uzbek; CPSU member since 1958; graduate of Tashkent Institute for Agricultural Irrigation and Mechanization Engineering; candidate of technical sciences; beginning in 1953 worked as engineer, senior engineer, deputy chief and chief of an expedition, deputy director and director of the Uzgiprovodkhoz Institute; 1962—became Sredazgiprovodkhoz Institute director; 1964—became UzSSR first deputy minister of water resources; 1965—became UzSSR minister of land reclamation and water

resources; 1977—became UzSSR Council of Ministers deputy chairman; became first secretary of Andizhan Party Obkom in 1978, first secretary of Surkhandarinskaya Party Obkom in 1985; CPSU Central Auditing Commission member 1981-86; CPSU Central Committee candidate member since 1986; USSR people's deputy.

Menteshashvili, Tengiz Nikolayevich: USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium secretary; born 1928; Georgian; CPSU member since 1952; graduated from Georgian Polytechnical Institute; began career in 1950 as an engineer, later becoming senior design engineer at the Transcaucasian Metallurgical Plant; beginning in 1952 served as Rustavi Georgian Komsomol Gorkom second secretary and instructor, deputy department head, secretary and secretary of Georgian Komsomol Central Committee; 1961—became Georgian CP Central Committee deputy department head; 1963—became Rustavi Party Gorkom first secretary; 1966—appointed Georgian CP Central Committee deputy department head; became Tbilisi Party Gorkom second secretary in 1973, first secretary in 1976; became USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium secretary in 1982; CPSU Central Committee candidate member since 1986; USSR people's deputy; USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities member.

Meshkov, Aleksandr Grigoryevich: Machine building plant director; born 1927; Russian; CPSU member since 1953; graduate of Moscow Chemical Machine Building Institute; began career in 1948 as an engineer, later laboratory chief, deputy shift head and shift head at a plant, deputy senior engineer and senior engineer of a plant, senior engineer and director of a combine; beginning in 1969 worked as main administration head, deputy minister and first deputy minister under USSR Ministry of Medium Machine Building; 1986—became director of a machine building plant; CPSU Central Committee candidate member since 1986; Hero of Socialist Labor; Lenin Prize laureate; USSR State Prize laureate.

Mozhayev, Pavel Petrovich: USSR MFA special envoy; born 1930; Russian; CPSU member since 1958; graduate of Leningrad Cellulose and Paper Industry Technological Institute; beginning in 1970 worked as shift supervisor, head of a processing station, head of substations and head of electrical equipment operations at a plant and plant party buro secretary in Leningrad; beginning in 1961 worked as deputy rayispolkom chairman, second secretary and first secretary of Kirovskiy Party Raykom in Leningrad; beginning in 1970 became department head, secretary and second secretary of Leningrad Party Obkom; 1986—became CPSU Central Committee senior official and ambassador to Afghanistan; became USSR MFA special envoy in 1988; CPSU Central Committee candidate member since 1986; RSFSR Supreme Soviet deputy.

Nikitin, Vladilen Valentinovich: RSFSR Gosagroprom first deputy chairman and RSFSR minister; born 1936; Russian; CPSU member since 1965; graduate of Omsk

Agricultural Institute, CPSU Central Committee Correspondence Higher Party School; beginning in 1961 worked as senior engineer for a sovkhoz trust, senior engineer of a rayon agricultural production administration, sovkhoz director and deputy chief of Tyumen-neftegaz Association for agriculture; beginning in 1970 was head of rayon agricultural administration and chairman of Isetskiy Rayispolkom, becoming party raykom first secretary in 1972; appointed head of oblast agricultural administration in 1975; became Tyumen Oblispolkom chairman in 1976, RSFSR minister of agriculture in 1985; appointed RSFSR Gosagroprom first deputy chairman and RSFSR minister in December 1985; CPSU Central Committee candidate member since 1986; USSR people's deputy; USSR Supreme Soviet of Nationalities member.

Nikiforov, Valentin Mikhaylovich: USSR MFA deputy minister for cadres; born 1934; Russian; CPSU member since 1958; graduate of Leningrad Electrical Engineering Institute, CPSU Central Committee Correspondence Higher Party School; began career in 1954 as a designer-technician; served in the Soviet Army, 1955-58; beginning in 1958 worked as a designer of shipboard electrical equipment in Leningrad; 1967—became party committee secretary at a scientific research institute; beginning in 1969 served as secretary, second secretary and first secretary of Vyborgskiy Party Raykom, Leningrad; beginning in 1977 held posts of obkom department head, secretary and second secretary of Leningrad CPSU Obkom; 1979—became CPSU Central Committee Organizational Party Work Department deputy head; 1985—appointed USSR MFA deputy minister for cadres; CPSU Central Committee candidate member since 1986.

Nikolskiy, Boris Vasilyevich: Moscow City Planning Commission first deputy chairman (Moscow Gorispolkom); born 1937; Russian; CPSU member since 1963; graduate of Moscow Agricultural Mechanization and Electrification Institute, CPSU Central Committee Correspondence Higher Party School; beginning in 1959 worked as assistant foreman, senior foreman, assistant shop chief, department head and senior engineer at a plant, and party committee secretary at the All-Union Agricultural Mechanization Scientific Research Institute in Moscow; beginning in 1968 served as party raykom secretary and rayispolkom chairman, becoming Zhdanovskiy Party Raykom (Moscow) first secretary in 1973; 1976—became Moscow Gorispolkom deputy chairman; 1981—became Moscow Party Gorkom secretary; 1984—Georgian CP Central Committee secretary; 1989—Moscow City Planning Commission first deputy chairman; CPSU Central Committee candidate member since 1986; USSR people's deputy.

Obraztsov, Ivan Filippovich: RSFSR minister of higher and secondary specialized education; born 1920; Russian; CPSU member since 1944; graduate of Moscow Aviation Institute; academician, USSR Academy of Sciences; veteran of the Great Patriotic War; beginning in 1944 worked as assistant, senior instructor, docent, dean

of a department, deputy director and rector of Moscow Aviation Institute; RSFSR minister of higher and secondary specialized education since 1972; CPSU Central Committee candidate member since 1981; USSR people's deputy; RSFSR Supreme Soviet deputy; Lenin Prize laureate; USSR State Prize laureate; USSR Council of Ministers Prize laureate.

Paskar, Petr Andreyevich: USSR Gosplan deputy chairman and head of consolidated agroindustrial complex department; born 1929; Moldavian; CPSU member since 1956; graduate of Kishinev Agricultural Institute, CPSU Central Committee Correspondence Higher Party School; candidate of economic sciences; beginning in 1954 worked as agronomist and chief agronomist of a machine-tractor station, in rayon agricultural inspection, and as head and chief agronomist of MSSR Ministry of Agriculture Inspection Division; in the Moldavian CP Central Committee since 1959, serving as party raykom first secretary and MSSR first deputy minister of agricultural production and procurement; 1962—became Moldavian CP Central Committee secretary; 1970—became MSSR Council of Ministers chairman and simultaneously republic minister of foreign affairs; became first deputy chairman of USSR Gosplan in 1976 and deputy chairman and head of consolidated agroindustrial complex department in 1988; CPSU Central Committee candidate member since 1971.

Pogrebnyak, Yakov Petrovich: Lvov Ukrainian CP Obkom first secretary; born 1928; Ukrainian; CPSU member since 1953; graduate of Donetsk Polytechnical Institute; began working in 1954 as foreman, later becoming senior engineer, senior foreman and interim sector head at Novyy Kramatorsk Machine Building Plant; beginning in 1957 served as secretary, second secretary and first secretary of Kramatorsk Party Gorkom; served in various party obkoms: as first secretary of Donetsk Obkom beginning 1963, Poltava Obkom second secretary beginning in 1964, Ivano-Frankovsk Obkom first secretary as of 1966, and Nikolayevsk Obkom first secretary beginning in 1969; became Ukrainian CP Central Committee secretary in 1971; Lvov Party Obkom first secretary since 1987; CPSU Central Committee candidate member since 1971; Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet deputy.

Podolskiy, Yevgeniy Mikhaylovich: Tambov CPSU Obkom first secretary; born 1934; Russian; CPSU member since 1959; graduate of Voronezh Agricultural Institute, CPSU Central Committee Correspondence Higher Party School; began career in 1956 as head of a repair shop, later becoming chief engineer on a sovkhoz and chief engineer of a trust in Tambov Oblast; beginning in 1961 served as rayispolkom chairman, first deputy head of a kolkhoz-sovkhoz production administration, deputy head of the oblast agricultural administration and chairman of oblast Selkhoztekhnika Association; became deputy (later first deputy) Tambov Oblispolkom chairman in 1970; became Tambov CPSU Obkom secretary in 1977, chairman of Tambov Oblispolkom in 1979; first secretary of Tambov CPSU

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Obkom since 1985; CPSU Central Committee candidate member since 1986; USSR people's deputy.

Popkov, Mikhail Danilovich: Military Council member, chief of Infantry Political Administration, colonel-general; born 1924; Russian; CPSU member since 1943; graduate of Military-Political Academy imeni V. I. Lenin, USSR Armed Forces General Staff Military Academy; has served in the Soviet Army since 1942; veteran of the Great Patriotic War; in party political and Komsomol work in military units, 1943-67; in political work in military districts, 1967-70 and 1973-80; served 1970-73 as deputy administration head, Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Administration; member of the Military Council and chief of Infantry Political Administration since 1980; CPSU Central Committee candidate member since 1981.

Popov, Nikolay Ivanovich: Leningrad Oblispolkom chairman; born 1936; Russian; CPSU member since 1959; graduate of Leningrad Civil Engineering Institute; began career in 1959 as construction foreman on a railway; in trade union, party and economic work in Leningrad Oblast since 1960; beginning in 1971 served as second secretary and then first secretary of Vyborg Party Gorkom; beginning in 1981 became department head and secretary under Leningrad CPSU Obkom; became Leningrad Oblispolkom chairman in 1983; CPSU Central Committee candidate member since 1986.

Posibeyev, Grigoriy Andreyevich: Mari CPSU Obkom first secretary; born 1935; Mari; CPSU member since 1959; graduate of Leningrad Agricultural Institute, CPSU Central Committee Correspondence Higher Party School; beginning in 1959 served as Pushkinskiy Komsomol Raykom (Leningrad) first secretary; became sovkhos chief agronomist in 1961; beginning in 1963 was second secretary and secretary of Leningrad Komsomol Obkom; in party work since 1967, as second secretary and first secretary of Kingiseppskiy Raykom, obkom department head and, as of 1975, Leningrad Party Obkom secretary; became Mari CPSU Obkom first secretary in 1981; CPSU Central Committee candidate member since 1981; USSR people's deputy; Mari ASSR Supreme Soviet deputy.

Radyukevich, Leonid Vladimirovich: USSR first deputy minister of ferrous metallurgy; born 1932; Russian; CPSU member since 1959; graduated from Magnitogorsk Mining and Metallurgical Institute; began career in 1955 as rolling-press operator at Magnitogorsk Metallurgical Combine, later becoming senior rolling-press operator, foreman, division head, assistant shop chief, shop chief, senior rolling mill operator and deputy chief engineer at the same enterprise; became head of a USSR Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy administration in 1977; became director of Magnitogorsk Metallurgical Combine imeni V. I. Lenin in 1979; USSR first deputy minister of ferrous metallurgy since 1985; CPSU Central Committee candidate member since 1981; two-time USSR State Prize laureate.

Rachkov, Albert Ivanovich: Soviet ambassador to the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen; born 1927; Russian; CPSU member since 1955; graduate of the Azov-Black Sea Institute of Agricultural Mechanization and Electrification, CPSU Central Committee Correspondence Higher Party School; began career in 1950 as an engineer; beginning in 1951 did economic, party and soviet work in Kemerovo Oblast; in the CPSU Central Committee apparatus since 1965; became Lipetsk CPSU Obkom secretary in 1969; became sector head under CPSU Central Committee Organizational Party Work Department in 1974; became Turkmen CP Central Committee second secretary in 1980; ambassador to Yemen since 1986; CPSU Central Committee candidate member since 1981.

Reshetilov, Vladimir Ivanovich: USSR minister of construction in the northern and western regions of the USSR; born 1937; Ukrainian; CPSU member since 1963; graduate of Dnepropetrovsk Civil Engineering Institute; began career in 1959 as work superintendent in a construction trust; worked in 1960-73 in construction organizations in Orenburg Oblast and the city of Dnepropetrovsk; became Dnepropetrovsk Gorispolkom first deputy chairman in 1973; beginning in 1977 worked as chief engineer and head of Dneprometallurgstroy Combine; beginning in 1980 served as UkSSR deputy and first deputy minister of heavy industrial construction; became USSR deputy minister of heavy industrial construction in 1983, USSR minister of construction in 1986; USSR minister of construction in the northern and western regions of the USSR in September 1986; CPSU Central Committee candidate member since 1986.

Rodin, Viktor Semenovich: Military Council member, Strategic Missile Troops Political Administration chief, colonel-general; born 1928; Russian; CPSU member since 1950; graduate of Military-Political Academy imeni V. I. Lenin (by correspondence), USSR Armed Forces General Staff Military Academy; in soviet and Komsomol work in Penza Oblast beginning in 1946; has served in the Soviet Army since 1949; did Komsomol and party political work in military units beginning in 1951; starting in 1973 held political posts in Soviet Group of Forces in Germany and a number of military districts and sectors; Military Council member and chief of Strategic Military Forces Political Administration since 1985; CPSU Central Committee candidate member since 1986; MSSR Supreme Soviet deputy.

Romanin, Dmitriy Vasilyevich: Kaliningrad CPSU Obkom first secretary; born 1929; Russian; CPSU member since 1952; graduate of Kaliningrad Fish Industry and Economy Technical Institute (by correspondence); began career in 1950 as foreman at a plant; in Komsomol work beginning 1951; beginning in 1955 did party and soviet work in the city of Kaliningrad, serving as gorkom instructor, deputy department head and department head, party committee secretary, raykom first secretary, party gorkom second secretary and gorispolkom chairman; became Kaliningrad CPSU Gorkom first secretary in 1972; beginning in 1981

became Kaliningrad CPSU Obkom secretary and later second secretary, first secretary in 1984; CPSU Central Committee candidate member since 1986.

Ryzhikov, Mikhail Borisovich: AUCCTU secretary and Agroindustrial Complex Workers' Trade Union Central Committee chairman; born 1930; Russian; CPSU member since 1953; graduate of Novosibirsk Higher Party School, All-Union Correspondence Financial and Economic Institute; candidate of economic sciences; began career in 1946 as a tractor driver, later becoming kolkhoz agronomist, deputy chairman and chairman; beginning in 1964 worked as instructor, deputy head and head of Agriculture Department in Novosibirsk Party Obkom; 1970—became an instructor in the CPSU Central Committee Agriculture Department; beginning in 1977 served as deputy chairman and chairman of the Agricultural Workers' Fruit and Vegetable Workers' and Procurement Workers' Trade Union Central Committee; became Agroindustrial Complex Workers' Trade Union Central Committee chairman and simultaneously AUCCTU secretary in 1986; CPSU Central Committee candidate member since 1986; USSR people's deputy; RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium member and deputy.

Sakalauskas, Vitautas Vladovich: LiSSR Council of Ministers chairman; born 1933; Lithuanian; CPSU member since 1960; graduate of Kaunas Polytechnical Institute; began career in 1957 as senior foreman at Prekalas Plant in Kaunas, later becoming shop supervisor, chief engineer and director of that enterprise; performed economic, party and soviet work in the Lithuanian SSR beginning in 1963; became Vilnius Lithuanian CP Gorkom first secretary in 1974; became LiSSR Council of Ministers first deputy chairman in 1983, CPSU Central Committee inspector in 1984, LiSSR Council of Ministers chairman in 1985; CPSU Central Committee candidate member since 1986; LiSSR Supreme Soviet deputy.

Saul, Bruno Eduardovich: USSR trade representative in the German Democratic Republic; born 1932; Estonian; CPSU member since 1960; graduate of Leningrad Electrical Engineering Communications Institute, CPSU Central Committee Correspondence Higher Party School; candidate of economic sciences; began career in 1956 as an engineer at an enterprise under the Estonian SSR Ministry of Communications, later held other engineering and administrative posts under that ministry; became Estonian SSR minister of communications in 1969, Estonian SSR Council of Ministers deputy chairman in 1975, Estonian CP Central Committee secretary in 1983; became Estonian SSR Council of Ministers chairman in 1984, USSR trade representative in the GDR in 1988; CPSU Central Committee candidate member since 1986; Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet deputy; USSR State Prize laureate.

Sidorov, Vladimir Vasilyevich: Deputy Navy commander-in-chief for rear services, naval rear services chief, admiral; born 1924; Russian; CPSU member since 1949; graduate of the Naval Academy; has served in the

Navy since 1942; beginning in 1946 held command positions on ships and in task forces in the Baltic and Northern fleets; became flotilla commander in 1971; became chief of staff and first deputy commander of the Pacific Fleet in 1973; in 1975 became first deputy commander (as of 1978 commander) of the Baltic Fleet; took command of the Pacific Fleet in 1981; deputy Navy commander-in-chief for rear services, naval rear services chief since 1986; CPSU Central Committee candidate member since 1981.

Skiba, Ivan Ivanovich: CPSU Central Committee Agrarian Department head; born 1937; Ukrainian; CPSU member since 1959; graduate of Odessa Agricultural Institute; began career in 1959 as assistant in a department of that institute; in Komsomol work beginning in 1959, as Odessa Komsomol Obkom instructor, later becoming instructor, sector head, department head and (after 1962) secretary and second secretary of the Ukrainian Komsomol Central Committee; became Ukrainian CP Central Committee inspector in 1970; in 1972 became second secretary of Transcarpathian Party Obkom, first secretary of Ivano-Frankovsk Party Obkom in 1978; became CPSU Central Committee Agriculture and Food Industry Department deputy head in 1983, head in 1987; head of CPSU Central Committee Agrarian Department since 1988; CPSU Central Committee candidate member since 1986; USSR people's deputy.

Slezko, Petr Yakovlevich: CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee deputy chairman; born 1931; Russian; CPSU member since 1954; graduate of Tomsk Polytechnical Institute, CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences; candidate of economic sciences; beginning in 1955 became second and then first secretary of Tomsk Komsomol Gorkom, secretary and department head under Tomsk Komsomol Obkom, party raykom second secretary, and deputy head of a sovkhoz-kolkhoz production administration; became department head under Tomsk CPSU Obkom in 1968, secretary in 1971; in the CPSU Central Committee apparatus since 1983, as Propaganda Department deputy head, assistant Central Committee secretary and Propaganda Department first deputy head; became Party Control Committee deputy chairman in 1988; CPSU Central Committee candidate member since 1986.

Smirnov, Viktor Il'ich: Union-level personal pensioner; born 1929; Russian; CPSU member since 1951; graduate of Vyshnevolotskiy State Teachers' Institute, CPSU Central Committee Correspondence Higher Party School, CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences; candidate of historical sciences; began career in 1950 as a teacher; beginning in 1951 served as Komsomol raykom first secretary, secretary and first secretary of Kalinin Komsomol Obkom; beginning in 1960 served as party raykom first secretary, department head and (as of 1966) secretary of Kalinin Party Obkom; became sector head under CPSU Central Committee Organizational Party Work Department in 1975; became Moldavian CP

Central Committee second secretary in 1984; retired in 1988; CPSU Central Committee candidate member since 1986.

Smirnov, Georgiy Lukich: CPSU Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism director; born 1922; Russian; CPSU member since 1943; graduate of Volgograd Pedagogical Institute, CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences; academician, USSR Academy of Sciences; began career in 1941 as a bailiff in the people's court of Volgograd Oblast; in Komsomol, economic and party work in Volgograd Oblast since 1942; in the CPSU Central Committee apparatus since 1957; in 1962 became KOMMUNIST editor for philosophy and member of the journal's editorial board; beginning in 1965 became head of a group of lecturers, a group of consultants, deputy head and first deputy head of the CPSU Central Committee Propaganda Department; became director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Philosophy in 1983; became assistant to the CPSU Central Committee general secretary in 1985; director of the CPSU Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism since 1987; CPSU Central Committee candidate member since 1976.

Snetkov, Boris Vasilyevich: Commander-in-chief of the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany, army general; born 1925; Russian; CPSU member since 1945; graduate of Armor Troops Military Academy, USSR Armed Forces General Staff Military Academy; has served in the Soviet Army since 1943; veteran of the Great Patriotic War; in command and headquarters positions since 1945; became first deputy commander-in-chief of Group of Soviet Forces in Germany in 1975; took command of troops in Siberian Military District in 1979, Leningrad Military District in 1981; commander-in-chief of Soviet Group of Forces in Germany since 1987; CPSU Central Committee candidate member since 1986.

Sologub, Vitaliy Alekseyevich: Ukrainian Trade Union Council chairman; born 1926; Ukrainian; CPSU member since 1947; graduate of All-Union Correspondence Polytechnical Institute; candidate of technical sciences; began career in 1941 as a lathe operator, later becoming a technologist, designer, senior design engineer, bureau chief, laboratory head, party committee secretary, CPSU Central Committee party organizer and (as of 1961) director of Starokramatorskiy Machine Building Plant imeni Ordzhonikidze; in 1963 became Donetsk Party Obkom second secretary; has been Ukrainian Trade Union Council chairman since 1971; CPSU Central Committee candidate member since 1971; UkSSR Supreme Soviet deputy.

Sorokin, Aleksey Ivanovich: Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Administration first deputy chief, fleet admiral; born 1922; Russian; CPSU member since 1943; graduate of Military-Political Academy imeni V. I. Lenin; began career in 1940 as a truck driver; has served in the Soviet Army since 1941; veteran of the Great Patriotic War; following graduation from the academy in 1952 did party political work in the Navy; in 1976 became Soviet

Army and Navy Main Political Administration deputy chief and head of its Propaganda and Agitation Administration; 1979—became Military Council member and head of Soviet Navy Main Political Administration; 1981—became Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Administration first deputy chief; CPSU Central Committee candidate member since 1986; USSR people's deputy.

Spiridonov, Lev Nikolayevich: PRAVDA first deputy editor-in-chief; born 1931; Russian; CPSU member since 1956; graduated from Moscow State University imeni M. V. Lomonosov; candidate of philosophical sciences; beginning in 1955 worked as Komsomol raykom department head and instructor, department head and secretary of Moscow Komsomol Gorkom; in diplomatic work beginning in 1960; became USSR Committee of Youth Organizations deputy chairman in 1965; became deputy department head under Moscow CPSU Gorkom in 1968, CPSU Central Committee Propaganda Department instructor in 1971; became MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA editor in 1972, sector head under CPSU Central Committee Propaganda Department in 1983; became Moscow CPSU Gorkom secretary and department head in 1985; PRAVDA first deputy editor-in-chief since 1986; CPSU Central Committee candidate member since 1986; RSFSR Supreme Soviet deputy.

Stashenkov, Nikolay Alekseyevich: CPSU Central Committee Socioeconomic Department first deputy head, head of Subdepartment for Social Policy; born 1934; Russian; CPSU member since 1960; graduate of Belorussian State Institute of the Economy, USSR Council of Ministers Economic Academy; in economic work in Vitebsk Oblast beginning in 1957; beginning in 1969 became deputy head and head of a Belorussian CP Central Committee department; became BSSR minister of trade in 1980, USSR deputy minister of trade in 1981; became BSSR Council of Ministers permanent representative in the USSR Council of Ministers in 1983; beginning in 1984 served as CPSU Central Committee Trade and Consumer Services Department deputy head and head; became CPSU Central Committee Socioeconomic Department first deputy head and subdepartment head in 1988; RSFSR Supreme Soviet deputy.

Toropov, Vladimir Ivanovich: Kostroma CPSU Obkom first secretary; born 1938; Russian; CPSU member since 1962; graduate of Kostroma Karavayev Agricultural Institute, CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences; began career in 1956 as a laboratory worker at a tekhnikum, later becoming departmental assistant at the institute; beginning in 1962 worked as Komsomol obkom organizer, Komsomol committee secretary at a kolkhoz-sovkhoz production administration, and Komsomol raykom first secretary; beginning in 1965 served as second and first secretary of Kostroma Komsomol Obkom; beginning in 1973 was party raykom first secretary, party obkom department head, head of agricultural administration, oblispolkom first deputy chairman and agroindustrial association council chairman; 1986—became Kostroma CPSU Obkom first

secretary; CPSU Central Committee candidate member since 1986; RSFSR Supreme Soviet deputy.

Troyanovskiy, Oleg Aleksandrovich: Soviet ambassador to the PRC; born 1919; Russian; CPSU member since 1947; graduate of Moscow State Pedagogical Institute for Foreign Languages; served in the Soviet Army 1941-42; beginning in 1942 worked in the apparatus of the Soviet Information Bureau, the Soviet Embassy in England, the USSR MFA and the editorial staff of the magazine NOVOSTI; beginning in 1953 served as assistant to the USSR minister of foreign affairs; 1958—became assistant to the USSR Council of Ministers chairman; 1967—appointed Soviet ambassador to Japan; beginning in 1976 became USSR MFA board member, permanent Soviet UN representative and USSR representative on the UN Security Council; became Soviet ambassador to the PRC in 1986; CPSU Central Auditing Commission member, 1981-86; CPSU Central Committee candidate member since 1986.

Ulanov, Gennadiy Ivanovich: Kaluga CPSU Obkom first secretary; born 1929; Russian; CPSU member since 1956; graduate of Gorkiy Polytechnical Institute, CPSU Central Committee Correspondence Higher Party School; began career in 1952 as engineer-technologist, later becoming assistant shop supervisor, shop supervisor and plant director; in party and soviet work in Kaluga Oblast since 1961, as party obkom department head, party industrial obkom Party and State Control Committee chairman and oblispolkom chairman; served as secretary, second secretary and, as of 1983, first secretary of Kaluga CPSU Obkom; CPSU Central Committee candidate member since 1986.

Fomichenko, Konstantin Yefimovich: USSR deputy minister of foreign economic relations, chief of Main Administration for Cadres and Social Development; born 1927; Ukrainian; CPSU member since 1948; graduate of CPSU Central Committee Correspondence Higher Party School; candidate of historical sciences; beginning in 1943 worked as assistant foreman and foreman at a trade school; in Komsomol work in Chelyabinsk Oblast since 1945, in party work in same oblast since 1954; 1970—became Chelyabinsk Party Obkom secretary; in the CPSU Central Committee apparatus since 1973, as Central Committee inspector, sector head under Organizational Party Work Department; 1977—became Kirghiz CP Central Committee second secretary; 1981—appointed Soviet ambassador to Ethiopia; 1985—appointed Soviet ambassador to Mongolia; 1988—became USSR deputy minister of foreign economic relations and chief of Main Administration for Cadres and Social Development; CPSU Central Committee candidate member since 1981.

Khayeyev, Izatullo: Tajik SSR Council of Ministers chairman; born 1936; Tajik; CPSU member since 1961; graduate of Tajik State University, CPSU Central Committee Higher Party School; beginning in 1954 worked as senior auditor in an oblispolkom department, gorispolkom department head, republic Ministry of Finance

auditor, department head under republic Ministry of Agriculture, head of support and demonstration farm department, deputy kolkhoz chairman, head of rayon agricultural production administration, department head under Tajik SSR People's Control Committee; beginning in 1970 served as party raykom first secretary and oblispolkom chairman in Gorno-Badakhshan AO; 1978—became Tajik SSR minister of the meat and dairy industry; 1983—became Kulyab Party Obkom first secretary; Tajik SSR Council of Ministers chairman since 1986; CPSU Central Committee candidate member since 1986; USSR people's deputy; Tajik SSR Supreme Soviet deputy.

Khitrin, Leonid Ivanovich: Ryazan CPSU Obkom first secretary; born 1930; Belorussian; CPSU member since 1955; graduate of Belorussian Agricultural Institute; began career in 1946 as a tractor driver and truck driver at a machine-tractor station; did engineering work in Grodno Oblast beginning in 1953; became chairman of republic Belselkhoztekhnika Association in 1962; beginning in 1971 served as BSSR Council of Ministers deputy chairman, USSR first deputy minister of agriculture; 1979—became CPSU Central Committee Agriculture Department deputy head; 1980—became chairman of USSR State Committee for Agricultural Equipment; 1986—became USSR minister of machine building for livestock breeding and fodder production; 1987—became Ryazan CPSU Obkom first secretary; CPSU Central Auditing Commission member, 1981-86; CPSU Central Committee candidate member since 1986; USSR people's deputy.

Khrennikov, Tikhon Nikolayevich: USSR Union of Composers first secretary of the board; born 1913; Russian; CPSU member since 1947; graduate of Moscow State Conservatory imeni P. I. Tchaikovsky professor; began creative career in 1936; became head of musical section of Soviet Army Central Theater in 1941; beginning in 1948 served as Union of Soviet Composers general secretary; became USSR Union of Composers first secretary of the board in 1957, after 1961 serving simultaneously as instructor, after 1966 professor, at Moscow State Conservatory; CPSU Central Auditing Commission member, 1961-76; CPSU Central Committee candidate member since 1976; USSR people's deputy; Hero of Socialist Labor; Lenin Prize laureate; four-time USSR State Prize laureate; USSR People's Performer.

Chaplin, Boris Nikolayevich: USSR deputy minister of foreign affairs; born 1931; Russian; CPSU member since 1961; graduate of Moscow Mining Institute; candidate of technical sciences and docent; began career in 1955 as a mining foreman of a mine, later becoming sector chief of an open-pit coal mine in Kemerovo Oblast; in 1957 became junior scientific associate for USSR Academy of Science Mining Institute; beginning in 1959 worked as graduate student, deputy party committee secretary, party committee secretary and docent at Moscow Mining Institute; beginning in 1965 served as second and first secretary of a party raykom in Moscow; 1974—appointed ambassador to the Democratic Republic of

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Vietnam (Socialist Republic of Vietnam after 1976); USSR deputy minister of foreign affairs since 1986; CPSU Central Committee candidate member since 1986; USSR State Prize laureate.

Cherepanov, Ivan Mikhaylovich: Moscow Oblispolkom chairman; born 1929; Russian; CPSU member since 1957; graduate of Moscow Power Engineering Institute; beginning in 1953 worked as technician, engineer and senior engineer in research sector of All-Union Planning and Experimental Research Institute imeni S. Ya. Zhuk [Gidroproyekt]; became Tushinsk Komsomol Gorkom first secretary in 1957; beginning in 1959 worked as instructor and deputy department head in Moscow Party Obkom, becoming first secretary of Kaliningrad Party Gorkom (Moscow Oblast) in 1964 and department head under Moscow Party Obkom in 1968; became head Moscow Oblispolkom deputy chairman in 1975, Moscow Party Obkom secretary in 1981, Moscow Oblispolkom chairman in 1986; CPSU Central Committee candidate member since 1986; RSFSR Supreme Soviet deputy.

Chekharin, Yevgeniy Mikhaylovich: RSFSR Council of Ministers deputy chairman; born 1924; Russian; CPSU member since 1950; graduate of Moscow Institute of Jurisprudence; USSR Academy of Sciences corresponding member, professor; served in the Soviet Army, 1941-43; veteran of the Great Patriotic War, wounded in service; became a teacher in 1943, assistant rayon procurator in 1949; beginning in 1952 worked as senior instructor, docent, deputy party committee secretary and party committee secretary at Moscow State University; beginning in 1959 served as secretary, second secretary and first secretary of a party raykom in Moscow; beginning in 1962 was CPSU Central Committee Department of Science, Schools and Culture head for the RSFSR, CPSU Central Committee Ideological Department first deputy head for the RSFSR, and CPSU Central Committee Science and Educational Institutions deputy head; 1972—became rector of CPSU Central Committee Higher Party School; 1978—became USSR minister of culture; RSFSR Council of Ministers deputy chairman since 1983; CPSU Central Committee candidate member since 1986; RSFSR Supreme Soviet deputy.

Chikin, Valentin Vasilyevich: SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA editor-in-chief; born 1932; Russian; CPSU member since 1956; graduate of Moscow State University imeni M. V. Lomonosov; beginning in 1951 worked as literary associate on editorial board of MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS; beginning in 1958 became literary associate, deputy editor, department editor and deputy editor-in-chief of KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA; beginning in 1971 was deputy and first deputy editor-in-chief of SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA; became USSR State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants and the Book Trade first deputy chairman in 1984; SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA editor-in-chief since 1986; RSFSR Supreme Soviet deputy.

Shirshin, Grigoriy Chooduyevich: Tuva CPSU Obkom first secretary; born 1934; Tuvan; CPSU member since 1958; graduate of CPSU Central Committee Correspondence Higher Party School, CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences; candidate of historical sciences; began career in 1950 as people's court secretary; became Komsomol raykom department head in 1952; served in the Soviet Army, 1954-55; became a teacher in 1955; beginning in 1957 was second and first secretary of a Komsomol raykom, Komsomol obkom department head, Komsomol gorkom first secretary, secretary, second secretary and (as of 1961) first secretary of Tuva Komsomol Obkom; beginning in 1967 became department head, secretary and, in 1973, first secretary of Tuva CPSU Obkom; CPSU Central Committee candidate member since 1976; USSR people's deputy; Tuva ASSR Supreme Soviet deputy.

Shitov, Aleksandr Ivanovich: USSR People's Control Committee first deputy chairman; born 1925; Russian; CPSU member since 1955; graduate of Gorkiy Institute of Water Transport Engineering; began career in 1940 as milling machine operator, later becoming foreman, designer, technologist, shop supervisor and plant trade union committee chairman at enterprises in Gorkiy and Volgograd; in party and soviet work in Volgograd Oblast since 1959, as raykom first secretary, obkom department head, party gorkom second secretary, oblispolkom first deputy chairman and Volgograd CPSU Gorkom first secretary; became CPSU Central Committee inspector in 1967, Tajik CP Central Committee second secretary in 1970, USSR People's Control Committee first deputy chairman in 1975; CPSU Central Committee candidate member since 1971; RSFSR Supreme Soviet deputy.

Shuralev, Vladimir Mikhaylovich: Representative of Integrated Armed Forces commander-in-chief in GDR National People's Army; army general; born 1935; Russian; CPSU member since 1959; graduated from Armor Troops Military Academy, USSR Armed Forces General Staff Military Academy; has served in the Soviet Army since 1955; since 1958 in command and headquarters positions in military units in a number of military districts and in the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany; became first deputy commander-in-chief of Soviet Group of Forces in Germany in 1984; took command of Belorussian Military District in 1985; became representative of Integrated Armed Forces commander-in-chief in 1989; CPSU Central Committee candidate member since 1986; BSSR Supreme Soviet deputy.

Shchepetilnikov, Arkadiy Nikolayevich: USSR minister of construction in the southern regions of the USSR; born 1930; Russian; CPSU member since 1958; graduate of advanced engineering courses at Rostov-on-Don Civil Engineering Institute; began career in 1946 as unskilled laborer, later becoming foreman and technician of a construction administration; beginning in 1954 held engineering-technical and administrative positions in construction organizations in Tula and Donetsk oblasts; beginning in 1968 served as UkSSR deputy and first

deputy minister of industrial construction, UkSSR minister of installation and special construction work, and UkSSR minister of industrial construction; became USSR minister of industrial construction in 1985; USSR minister of construction in the southern regions of the USSR since 1986; CPSU Central Committee candidate member since 1986; USSR State Prize laureate; USSR Council of Ministers Prize laureate.

Shcherbakov, Sergey Georgiyevich: Union-level personal pensioner; born 1925; Russian; CPSU member since 1944; graduate of Moscow Petrochemical and Gas Industry Institute; doctor of technical sciences; began career in 1941 as an apprentice, later assistant, engineman at a mechanized fishing station; served in the Soviet Army, 1942-47; veteran of the Great Patriotic War; in 1960 was departmental assistant and party committee secretary at Moscow Petrochemical and Gas Industry Institute; beginning in 1961 served as second and first secretary of Oktyabrskiy Party Raykom, Moscow; beginning in 1965 became deputy and first deputy head of CPSU Central Committee Science and Educational Institutions Department; 1984—became USSR minister of education; retired in 1988; CPSU Central Committee candidate member since 1986.

Yazkuliyeu, Bally: Presidium chairman, TuSSR Council of Voluntary Society for the Preservation of Historical and Cultural Monuments; born 1930; Turkmen; CPSU member since 1954; graduate of Chardzhou State Pedagogical Institute, CPSU Central Committee Higher Party School; began work as a collective farm member in 1944; beginning in 1949 worked as a teacher and principal of a school; in Komsomol and party work in Tashauz Oblast after 1952; became chairman of republic trade union council in 1973; became TuSSR Council of Ministers chairman in 1975, simultaneously serving as republic minister of foreign affairs; became TuSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman in 1978, later USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium deputy chairman; became chairman of historical preservation society in 1988; CPSU Central Auditing Commission member, 1976-81; CPSU Central Committee candidate member since 1981; TuSSR Supreme Soviet deputy.

CPSU CENTRAL AUDITING COMMISSION MEMBERSHIP

CPSU Central Auditing Commission Members Elected by the 27th CPSU Congress

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[Text] The 27th CPSU Congress elected 83 CPSU Central Auditing Commission members.

In accordance with a statute on the CPSU Central Auditing Commission approved by the 27th Party Congress the Central Auditing Commission has elected a buro to manage its day-to-day affairs. The buro consists of the CPSU Central Auditing Commission chairman,

the CPSU Central Auditing Commission deputy chairman and buro members. CPSU Central Auditing Commission chairman in 1986-88 was I. V. Kapitonov. At the present time the CPSU Central Auditing Commission Buro is comprised of: A. A. Nizovtseva, CPSU Central Auditing Commission deputy chairman, and CPSU Central Auditing Commission Buro members V. F. Konnov, P. P. Laptev and M. I. Khaldeyev.

The following changes occurred in the CPSU Central Auditing Commission membership between March 1986 and June 1989.

In April 1989 a request by 12 CPSU Central Auditing Commission members concerning their resignation from the commission was approved. Among those resigning were the following comrades:

L. K. Balykova, born 1931, Russian, CPSU member since 1970; served 1974-89 as a school teacher in Bolsheukovskaya Secondary School, Omsk Oblast; became union-level personal pensioner in 1989; CPSU Central Auditing Commission member 1986-89; Hero of Socialist Labor; RSFSR Honored School Teacher.

P. G. Gilashvili, born 1918, Georgian, CPSU member since 1939; served 1976-89 as GSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman; became union-level personal pensioner in 1989; CPSU Central Auditing Commission member 1976-89; GSSR Supreme Soviet deputy.

V. A. Grebenyuk, born 1924, Russian, CPSU member since 1954; candidate of technical sciences; served 1979-87 as KaSSR Council of Ministers first deputy chairman; became union-level personal pensioner in 1987; CPSU Central Auditing Commission member 1981-89; Hero of Socialist Labor.

P. I. Yerpilov, born 1926, Russian, CPSU member since 1953; served 1982-88 as Pavlodar Kazakh CP Obkom first secretary; became union-level personal pensioner in 1988; CPSU Central Auditing Commission member 1986-89.

L. N. Yefremov, born 1912, Russian, CPSU member since 1941; served 1970-88 as USSR State Committee for Science and Technology first deputy chairman; became union-level personal pensioner in 1988; CPSU Central Committee member 1952-71; CPSU Central Committee Presidium candidate member 1962-66; CPSU Central Auditing Commission member 1971-81; RSFSR Supreme Soviet deputy.

A. I. Zverev, born 1929, Russian, CPSU member since 1953; USSR State Committee for Forestry chairman 1984-88; became union-level personal pensioner in 1988; CPSU Central Auditing Commission member 1986-89.

I. V. Kapitonov, born 1915, Russian, CPSU member since 1939; served 1965-86 as CPSU Central Committee secretary, simultaneously until 1983 holding position of CPSU Central Committee Organizational Party Work Department head; CPSU Central Auditing Commission

chairman 1986-88; became union-level personal pensioner in 1988; CPSU Central Committee member 1952-86; CPSU Central Auditing Commission member 1986-89; RSFSR Supreme Soviet deputy; Hero of Socialist Labor.

D. P. Komarova, born 1920, Russian, CPSU member since 1940; served 1967-88 as RSFSR minister of social security; became union-level personal pensioner in 1988; CPSU Central Auditing Commission member 1966-89; RSFSR Supreme Soviet deputy.

L. L. Krivoruchko, born 1927, Ukrainian, CPSU member since 1952; served 1983-88 as Vinnitsa Ukrainian CP Obkom first secretary; became union-level personal pensioner in 1988; CPSU Central Auditing Commission member 1986-89.

G. F. Sizov, born 1903, Russian, CPSU member since 1926; served 1966-86 as CPSU Central Auditing Commission chairman; became union-level personal pensioner in 1986; CPSU Central Committee candidate member 1956-64; CPSU Central Committee member 1964-66; CPSU Central Auditing Commission member 1966-89.

R.-B. I. Songayla, born 1929, Lithuanian, CPSU member since 1953; served 1987-88 as Lithuanian CP Central Committee first secretary; became union-level personal pensioner in 1988; CPSU Central Auditing Commission member 1981-89; LiSSR Supreme Soviet deputy.

V. T. Stepanov, born 1928, Russian, CPSU member since 1956; served 1981-88 as North Kazakhstan Kazakh CP Obkom first secretary; became union-level personal pensioner in 1988; CPSU Central Auditing Commission member 1986-89.

CPSU Central Auditing Commission member **S. A. Losev** (1927-1988), a CPSU member since 1953, died in October 1988. He served from 1979 to 1988 as TASS director and was a USSR Supreme Soviet deputy.

The CPSU Central Auditing Commission currently has 70 members. Brief biographical sketches of its members follow. [Photographs are published with the biographical data.]

CPSU Central Auditing Commission Members

Avakyan, Gayane Avetikovna: Operator at Yerevan Railway Post Office; born 1954; Armenian; CPSU member since 1977; graduated from secondary school in Yerevan; has worked as an operator at Yerevan Railway Post Office since 1972; CPSU Central Auditing Commission member since 1986.

Adylov, Vladimir Tuychiyevich: Turners' brigade leader at Tashkent Aviation PO imeni V. P. Chkalov; born 1948; Uzbek; CPSU member since 1972; graduate of Tashkent Aviation Tekhnikum; began career in 1964 as

a turner at a plant in Tashkent; became aviation plant turner in 1967; beginning in 1973 worked as foreman, turner and, as of 1987, turners' brigade leader at Tashkent Aviation PO imeni V. P. Chkalov; CPSU Central Auditing Commission member since 1986; USSR people's deputy; USSR Supreme Soviet of Nationalities member.

Aleksankin, Aleksandr Vasilyevich: RSFSR Council of Ministers deputy chairman, RSFSR Non-Black Earth Zone Gosagroprom chairman; born 1929; Russian; CPSU member since 1956; graduate of Belorussian Agricultural Academy; beginning in 1953 worked in the Belorussian land reclamation and water resources system as senior engineer, administration head, land reclamation machinery station director, chief engineer and deputy head of a main administration; 1965—became BSSR minister of land reclamation and water resources; 1971—became USSR first deputy minister of land reclamation and water resources; 1974—became RSFSR Council of Ministers deputy chairman, serving simultaneously beginning in 1988 as RSFSR Non-Black Earth Zone Gosagroprom chairman; CPSU Central Auditing Commission member since 1976; USSR people's deputy; RSFSR Supreme Soviet deputy.

Anufiyev, Georgiy Ivanovich: Fitter-assembler at Kuybyshev Aviation Plant; born 1940; Russian; CPSU member since 1964; graduated from Kuybyshev Aviation Tekhnikum; began career in 1959 as fitter-assembler at a plant; served in the Soviet Army, 1961-64; beginning in 1964 worked as a fitter-assembler at Kuybyshev Machine Building Plant; 1970—became fitter-assembler at Kuybyshev Aviation Plant; CPSU Central Auditing Commission member since 1986; Hero of Socialist Labor.

Baranov, Aleksandr Alekseyevich: SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA editor-in-chief; born 1928; Russian; CPSU member since 1951; graduate of Leningrad State Pedagogical Institute, CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences; doctor of economic sciences and professor; beginning in 1947 worked as Pioneer leader in a school; beginning in 1949 in Komsomol and party work in Leningrad, as Komsomol committee secretary at a trust, Komsomol raykom instructor, second secretary and first secretary, Komsomol obkom secretary and head of a party gorkom lecturers' group; 1961—became CPSU Central Committee Propaganda and Agitation Department instructor; 1963—became CPSU Central Committee assistant secretary; beginning in 1971 worked as assistant to the head of the RSFSR Council of Ministers Secretariat; became SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA editor-in-chief in 1986; CPSU Central Auditing Commission member since 1986.

Beyshekeyeva, Zayna: Senior shepherd at Dzhet-Oguzskiy State Specialized Farm for Intensive Livestock Feeding, Issyk-Kul Oblast, KiSSR; born 1955; Kirghiz; CPSU member since 1976; graduate of Kirghiz Agricultural Institute; beginning in 1972 worked as kolkhoz

member and senior shepherd at Ulgu Kolkhoz, Dzhety-Oguzskiy Rayon; 1977—became senior shepherd at Dzhety-Oguzskiy State Specialized Farm for Intensive Livestock Feeding; CPSU Central Auditing Commission member since 1986; USSR people's deputy; USSR Supreme Soviet of Nationalities member; KiSSR Supreme Soviet deputy.

Belyayev, Albert Andreyevich: SOVETSKAYA KULTURA editor-in-chief; born 1928; Russian; CPSU member since 1950; graduate of Arkhangelsk Navigation School; Arkhangelsk State Pedagogical Institute (by correspondence), CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences; candidate of philosophical sciences; beginning in 1943 worked as fitter at a plant and lathe operator in railroad workshops; 1950—became navigator on Arctic Steamship Line; beginning in 1953 did Komsomol work in Murmansk, serving as Komsomol gorkom first secretary and Komsomol obkom second secretary and first secretary; in the CPSU Central Committee apparatus since 1962, serving as instructor, sector head and deputy head of CPSU Central Committee Culture Department; became SOVETSKAYA KULTURA editor-in-chief in 1986; CPSU Central Auditing Commission member since 1986.

Bukharin, Nikolay Ivanovich: Electrowelder at Uralvagonzavod PO imeni F. E. Dzerzhinskiy; born 1947; Russian; CPSU member since 1970; graduate of city vocational school and secondary school for working youth; beginning in 1966 became electrowelder at Urals Rail Car Building Plant imeni F. E. Dzerzhinskiy in Nizhnyy Tagil; served in the Soviet Army, 1966-68; as of 1969 returned to work as electrowelder at Urals Rail Car Building Plant, at Uralvagonzavod PO imeni Dzerzhinskiy since 1983; CPSU Central Auditing Commission member since 1986.

Bykov, Valeriy Alekseyevich: USSR minister of the medical and microbiological industry; born 1938; Russian; CPSU member since 1966; graduate of Kuybyshev Industrial Institute; candidate of technical sciences; became departmental assistant at the institute in 1961; beginning in 1964 worked as mechanic and deputy chief mechanic at a petroleum refining plant, inspector for the State Committee for Supervision of Safe Working Practices in Industry and for Mine Supervision, director of a biochemical plant in the city of Kirishi, Leningrad Oblast; 1976—became Kirishi CPSU Gorkom first secretary; 1979—became head of CPSU Central Committee Chemical Industry Department; became deputy head of USSR Council of Ministers Main Administration for the Microbiological Industry in 1985 and USSR minister of the medical and microbiological industry in November 1985; CPSU Central Auditing Commission member since 1986.

Vagris, Yan Yanovich: Latvian CP Central Committee first secretary; born 1930; Latvian; CPSU member since 1958; graduate of Latvian State University, CPSU Central Committee Higher Party School; beginning in 1955 worked as technologist and bureau chief at a plant;

beginning in 1958 was Yelgava Gorispolkom deputy chairman, later becoming second and then first secretary of Liyepaya Party Gorkom; 1973—became Latvian CP Central Committee department head; 1978—became Riga Party Gorkom first secretary; beginning in 1985 served as LaSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium deputy chairman; became Latvian CP Central Committee first secretary in 1988; CPSU Central Auditing Commission member since 1986; USSR people's deputy; USSR Supreme Soviet of the Union member; LaSSR Supreme Soviet deputy.

Vladimirov, Boris Grigoryevich: EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA editor-in-chief; born 1934; Russian; CPSU member since 1961; graduate of Moscow State University imeni M. V. Lomonosov; candidate of economic sciences; beginning in 1957 worked as an abstractor in the Main Administration for Radio Broadcasting and responsible secretary of EKONOMICHESKIYE NAUKI; became consultant for KOMMUNIST in 1962; in the CPSU Central Committee apparatus since 1966, as lecturer, consultant and head of a group of consultants under the CPSU Central Committee Propaganda Department; became assistant Central Committee secretary in 1979 and assistant to the CPSU Central Committee general secretary in 1982; became CPSU Central Committee Science and Educational Institutions Department deputy head in 1984; EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA editor-in-chief since 1985; CPSU Central Auditing Commission member since 1986.

Voyenushkin, Sergey Fedorovich: USSR minister of the construction materials industry; born 1929; Russian; CPSU member since 1951; graduate of Petrozavodsk State University; candidate of economic sciences; began career in 1952 as head of a geological research team; on a business assignment in Mongolia beginning in 1954; beginning in 1958 worked as deputy administration head and administration head under the Karelian and Northwestern economic councils, as of 1965 head and deputy head of a main administration, head of an administration under the RSFSR and USSR ministries of the construction materials industry; became USSR minister of the construction materials industry in 1985; CPSU Central Auditing Commission member since 1986; RSFSR Supreme Soviet deputy.

Voskanyan, Grant Mushegovich: ArSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman; born 1924; Armenian; CPSU member since 1946; graduate of Yerevan State Correspondence Pedagogical Institute; became a teacher in 1941; served in the Soviet Army, 1943-46; veteran of the Great Patriotic War; beginning in 1946 worked as a teacher, later did Komsomol and soviet work in Kirovakan; beginning in 1959 served as Kirovakan Armenian CP Gorkom secretary, second secretary and first secretary; in the CPSU Central Committee beginning in 1967; starting in 1973 served as Armenian CP Central Committee department head and secretary; became ArSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman in 1985; CPSU

Central Auditing Commission member since 1986; USSR people's deputy; USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of the Union member; ArSSR Supreme Soviet deputy.

Galkin, Dmitriy Prokhorovich: Head of a group of Soviet specialists developing a metallurgical plant in El-Khadzhar, Algerian People's Democratic Republic; born 1926; Russian; CPSU member since 1949; graduate of Magnitogorsk Mining and Metallurgical Institute; beginning in 1943 worked as an electrician, later becoming shift chief, deputy party committee secretary, division head, deputy shop supervisor, shop supervisor, chief rolling press operator, department head, party committee secretary, chief engineer and, as of 1973, director of Magnitogorsk Metallurgical Combine imeni V. I. Lenin; 1979—became USSR first deputy minister of ferrous metallurgy; 1981—became UkSSR minister of ferrous metallurgy; 1988—took charge of group of specialists working in Algeria; CPSU Central Committee member 1976-81; CPSU Central Auditing Commission member since 1981; Hero of Socialist Labor; two-time USSR State Prize laureate.

Gulova, Zulaykho Sokhibnazarovna: Field cultivation brigade leader at XXII Partsyezd Kolkhoz, Ordzhonikidzeabadskiy Rayon, Tajik SSR; born 1949; Tajik; CPSU member since 1983; graduated from Tajik Agricultural Institute (by correspondence); beginning in 1964 worked as a collective farm member, becoming field cultivation brigade leader in 1980; CPSU Central Auditing Commission member since 1986; USSR people's deputy; USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities member; Tajik SSR Supreme Soviet deputy.

Dzhumagulov, Apas: KiSSR Council of Ministers chairman; born 1934; Kirghiz; CPSU member since 1962; graduate of Moscow Petroleum Institute, CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences (by correspondence); candidate of geological and mineralogical sciences; began career in 1958 as a laboratory assistant and then senior laboratory assistant for a geological expedition, later becoming senior geologist, laboratory head, chief geologist and chief engineer under Kirghizneft Oil Field Administration, Osh Oblast; beginning in 1973 served as Kirghiz CP Central Committee department head and secretary; became Issyk-Kul Party Obkom first secretary in 1985, KiSSR Council of Ministers chairman in 1986; CPSU Central Auditing Commission member since 1986; USSR people's deputy; KiSSR Supreme Soviet deputy.

Dragunskiy, David Abramovich: Colonel-general; born 1910; Jew; CPSU member since 1931; graduate of Military Academy imeni M. V. Frunze, USSR Armed Forces General Staff Military Academy; beginning in 1928 worked as unskilled laborer and fitter in a trust, and as village soviet chairman; has served in the Soviet Army since 1933; veteran of the Great Patriotic War; held commands in military units beginning in 1950; became first deputy commander of Transcaucasus Military District in 1965; became head of First Higher Officers' Courses in the "Vystrel" program; served 1985-87 as

military inspector-adviser to the USSR Ministry of Defense Groups of General Inspectors; retired in 1987; became chairman of Soviet Public Anti-Zionist Committee in 1983; CPSU Central Auditing Commission member since 1971; recipient of two Hero of the Soviet Union awards.

Dubinina, Yuriy Vladimirovich: Soviet ambassador to the United States of America; born 1930; Russian; CPSU member since 1954; graduate of USSR MFA Moscow State Institute of International Relations; candidate of historical sciences; beginning in 1955 in diplomatic work in the Soviet Embassy in France, the UNESCO secretariat and the USSR MFA apparatus; 1971—became USSR MFA First European Department head; 1972—became member of USSR MFA board; since 1986 USSR permanent UN representative and USSR representative on the UN Security Council; became Soviet ambassador to the United States in 1986; CPSU Central Auditing Commission member since 1986.

Dumachev, Anatoliy Panteleyevich: CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee member; born 1932; Russian; CPSU member since 1957; graduate of Leningrad Military Medical Institute; beginning in 1956 worked as Komsomol raykom secretary, Leningrad Komsomol Obkom department head and design engineer in a design bureau; in party work in Leningrad beginning in 1960, as instructor in party raykom, gorkom and obkom, obkom deputy department head and department head, gorkom secretary and obkom secretary and second secretary; became Leningrad CPSU Gorkom first secretary in 1984, USSR State Committee for Vocational and Technical Education chairman in 1986, CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee member in 1988; CPSU Central Auditing Commission member since 1981; USSR State Prize laureate.

Izrael, Yuriy Antoniyevich: USSR State Committee for Hydrometeorology chairman; born 1930; Russian; CPSU member since 1955; graduate of Central Asian State University; USSR Academy of Sciences corresponding member; beginning in 1953 worked as engineer, senior engineer and junior scientific associate at the Geophysical Institute, junior scientific associate, laboratory chief, deputy director and, as of 1968, director of the Institute for Applied Geophysics; beginning in 1970 became first deputy chief and chief of the USSR Council of Ministers Hydrometeorological Service Administration; became USSR State Committee for Hydrometeorology and Environmental Control chairman in 1978 and USSR State Committee for Hydrometeorology chairman in 1988; CPSU Central Auditing Commission member since 1981; USSR State Prize laureate.

Kabasin, Gennadiy Sergeyeich: Voronezh CPSU Obkom first secretary, born 1937; Russian; CPSU member since 1960; graduate of Voronezh State Zootechnical and Veterinary Institute; candidate of economic sciences; beginning in 1953 worked as technical secretary of a school for agricultural mechanization, later

becoming a sovkhoz worker; beginning in 1960 worked as rayon agricultural inspector livestock specialist and sovkhoz party buro secretary; beginning in 1963 served as party obkom instructor, deputy party committee secretary in a kolkhoz- sovkhoz production administration, and second and first secretary of a party raykom in Voronezh Oblast; entered the CPSU Central Committee apparatus in 1978; beginning in 1979 was secretary and second secretary of Bryansk CPSU Obkom; became CPSU Central Committee inspector in 1985, later CPSU Central Committee Organizational Party Work Department deputy head; became Voronezh Party Obkom first secretary in 1987; CPSU Central Auditing Commission member since 1986; USSR people's deputy.

Kasyanova, Galina Vladimirovna: Weaver at Krasnoyarsk Silk Combine; born 1951; Russian; CPSU member since 1978; graduate of secondary school for working youth and a vocational-technical school in Krasnoyarsk; has worked as a weaver at Krasnoyarsk Silk Combine since 1968; CPSU Central Auditing Commission member since 1986.

Kovalev, Anatoliy Gavrilovich: USSR first deputy minister of foreign affairs; born 1923; Russian; CPSU member since 1945; graduate of USSR MFA Moscow State Institute of International Relations; began career in 1941 as a lighting technician at the Bolshoi Theater; in diplomatic work since 1948, serving in the USSR MFA apparatus, the apparatus of the USSR Supreme Commissar in Germany and the Soviet Embassy in the GDR; became USSR MFA department head in 1965, board member in 1966; became USSR deputy minister of foreign affairs in 1971, first deputy minister in 1986; CPSU Central Auditing Commission member since 1986; USSR State Prize laureate.

Komplektov, Viktor Georgiyevich: USSR deputy minister of foreign affairs; born 1932; Russian; CPSU member since 1962; graduate of USSR MFA Moscow State Institute of International Relations; beginning in 1955 worked as USSR MFA consultant, later trainee consultant and senior trainee consultant at the Soviet Embassy in the United States; beginning in 1959 served as attache, third secretary and second secretary of a USSR MFA department; beginning in 1963 was second secretary, first secretary and adviser in Soviet Embassy in the United States; beginning in 1968 worked as adviser, deputy head and head of USSR MFA's United States Department, was USSR MFA board member; became USSR deputy minister of foreign affairs in 1982; CPSU Central Auditing Commission member since 1986.

Konnov, Veniamin Fedorovich: RSFSR People's Control Committee chairman; born 1921; Russian; CPSU member since 1952; graduate of Kuybyshev Aviation Institute; served in the Red Army, 1939-40; beginning in 1946 worked as leading engineer, bureau chief, deputy chief controller, chief controller and party committee secretary at a plant; became Kuybyshev CPSU Obkom department head in 1959; entered the CPSU Central

Committee apparatus in 1960, serving as instructor and sector head; became Kuybyshev CPSU Obkom second secretary in 1967, Kuybyshev Oblispolkom chairman in 1971; RSFSR People's Control Committee chairman since 1975; CPSU Central Auditing Commission member since 1976; RSFSR Supreme Soviet deputy.

Koppel, Kheldi-Melayne Oskarovna: Head of a cattle feeding farm under Karksi Kolkhoz, Vilyandiskiy Rayon, Estonian SSR; born 1935; Estonian; CPSU member since 1956; graduate of Vyaymelas Livestock Tekhnikum; beginning in 1954 worked as livestock specialist at Karksi Kolkhoz, becoming chief livestock specialist in 1965 and head of a cattle feeding farm in 1979; CPSU Central Auditing Commission member since 1986; Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet deputy; Hero of Socialist Labor.

Kostyukov, Ivan Ivanovich: Metallurgical Industry Workers' Trade Union Central Committee chairman; born 1926; Russian; CPSU member since 1951; graduated from Dnepropetrovsk Metallurgical Institute, CPSU Central Committee Correspondence Higher Party School; began career in 1941 as a fitter, worked beginning in 1947 as an electrowelder and technician at Sinarskiy Pipe Plant in Sverdlovsk Oblast; beginning in 1953 was engineer, bureau chief, party committee deputy secretary and secretary at Pipe Rolling Plant imeni V. I. Lenin in Dnepropetrovsk; 1962—became Dnepropetrovsk Oblast Metallurgical Industry Workers' Trade Union Committee chairman, became trade union central committee chairman in 1964; CPSU Central Auditing Commission member since 1971.

Krasnenkova, Valentina Fedorovna: Physician at Ulyanovsk Oblast Hospital No 1; born 1939; Russian; CPSU member since 1968; graduate of Kuybyshev Medical Institute; began career in 1964 as a neuropathologist at a rayon hospital; began working as a neuropathologist in the medical unit of a machine building plant and at Clinic No 11 in Kuybyshev in 1967, began working at Ulyanovsk Oblast Hospital for Veterans of the Great Patriotic War in 1970; became physician at Ulyanovsk Oblast Hospital No 1 in 1971; CPSU Central Auditing Commission member since 1986; member of the Soviet Women's Committee and chairman of Ulyanovsk Oblast Women's Council.

Laptev, Pavel Pavlovich: CPSU Central Committee General Department first deputy head; born 1928; Russian; CPSU member since 1951; graduated from Saratov Institute of Jurisprudence, USSR MFA Higher Diplomatic School; began career in 1949 as an investigator in a rayon procuracy in the city of Syzran; became Kuybyshev Komsomol Obkom instructor in 1952; entered the CPSU Central Committee apparatus in 1955; beginning in 1968 worked as assistant to the chairman, deputy secretariat chief and secretariat chief in USSR KGB; became assistant CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and assistant CPSU Central Committee secretary in 1979; became assistant to the CPSU Central Committee general secretary in 1982, senior consultant

in a group of consultants under the USSR KGB chairman; CPSU Central Committee General Department first deputy head since 1985; CPSU Central Auditing Commission member since 1986.

Maksimkina, Ada Mikhaylovna: Regulator at an experimental plant under Riga Radiotekhnika PO; born 1940; Latvian; CPSU member since 1968; secondary school graduate; beginning in 1957 worked as an installer at Riga Radio Plant imeni A. S. Popov, later becoming inspector-receiver at a plant manufacturing textile equipment, an installer, archive chief, cadre department inspector and regulator at a radio plant; in 1988 became regulator of radio electronic apparatuses and instruments at the Functional Microelectronics Experimental Plant under the Riga Radiotekhnika PO; CPSU Central Auditing Commission member since 1986.

Moiseyev, Nikolay Andreyevich: Military Council member and head of Political Administration in Soviet Group of Forces in Germany, colonel general; born 1934; Russian; CPSU member since 1955; graduated from Sumy Artillery School, CPSU Central Committee Correspondence Higher Party School and Military-Political Academy imeni V. I. Lenin; has served in the Soviet Army since 1952; beginning in 1956 did Komsomol work in units in Kiev Military District and in Group of Soviet Forces in Germany; after 1968 in command political positions in a divisions and various armies; 1979—became first deputy Political Administration chief in Baltic Military District; 1982—became Military Council member and head of Turkestan Military District Political Administration; since 1985 Military Council member and head of Political Administration of Soviet Group of Forces in Germany; CPSU Central Auditing Commission member since 1986; USSR people's deputy; TuSSR Supreme Soviet deputy.

Mokanu, Aleksandr Aleksandrovich: MSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman; born 1934; Moldavian; CPSU member since 1968; graduate of Kishinev Agricultural Institute; candidate of economic sciences; beginning in 1956 worked as an engineer-mechanic and inspector at a machine-tractor station; became department assistant at the institute in 1957; beginning in 1961 worked as design engineer, senior engineer, head designer, sector head and department head in Special Design Bureau of Kishinev Tractor Plant; 1967—became head of main Special Design Bureau under USSR Ministry of Agricultural Machine Building; beginning in 1971 served as rayispolkom chairman, Kishinev Gorispolkom first deputy chairman, party raykom first secretary, party gorkom first secretary, MSSR minister of housing and municipal services; MSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman since 1985; CPSU Central Auditing Commission member since 1986; USSR people's deputy; USSR Supreme Soviet of the Union member; MSSR Supreme Soviet deputy.

Nayashkov, Ivan Semenovich: State Committee for Inventions and Discoveries chairman; born 1924; Russian; CPSU member since 1961; graduated from

Moscow Power Engineering Institute; candidate of technical sciences; began career in 1942 as maintenance technician in radio center of rayon communications office; beginning in 1949 was course director and graduate student at Moscow Power Engineering Institute; beginning in 1953 was assistant and interim docent at Kharkov Polytechnical Institute; beginning in 1956 became senior scientific associate, department head and director of All-Union Electrical Engineering Institute; beginning in 1973 became deputy and first deputy chairman, as of 1979 chairman, of State Committee for Inventions and Discoveries; CPSU Central Auditing Commission member since 1981.

Nizovtseva, Alla Afanasyevna: CPSU Central Auditing Commission deputy chairman; born 1930; Russian; CPSU member since 1955; graduate of Moscow Oblast Pedagogical Institute; began career in 1952 as a teacher; became director of a school for working young people in 1956; beginning in 1961 served as party raykom instructor, rayispolkom department head and party raykom department head; beginning in 1971 was secretary, second secretary and first secretary of Krasnogvardeyskiy CPSU Raykom, Moscow; became Moscow CPSU Gorkom secretary in 1986, full-time CPSU Central Auditing Commission deputy chairman in 1988; CPSU Central Auditing Commission member since 1986; RSFSR Supreme Soviet deputy.

Odobesku, Vera Sergeyevna: Cutter at Kishinev's Zorile Shoe Factory, a part of MSSR Ministry of Light Industry Scientific Leather and Footwear PO; born 1934; Moldavian; CPSU member since 1958; graduate of partial secondary school and factory-plant school; became cutter at Zorile Shoe Factory in 1951; CPSU Central Auditing Commission member since 1986; Hero of Socialist Labor.

Pallayev, Gaibnazar: TaSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman; born 1929; Tajik; CPSU member since 1957; graduate of Tajik Agricultural Institute; beginning in 1954 worked as a kolkhoz agronomist, senior agronomist, machine-tractor station director, head of rayon agricultural inspectorate and deputy raykom chairman, party raykom secretary; became TaSSR deputy minister of agriculture in 1960; beginning in 1961 worked as party raykom first secretary and party committee secretary in a kolkhoz-sovkhoz production administration; became chairman of Tadzhikselkhoztekhnika Association in 1973, first secretary of Kurgan-Tyube Party Obkom in 1977; TaSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman since 1984; CPSU Central Auditing Commission member since 1986; USSR people's deputy; USSR Supreme Soviet of Nationalities member; TaSSR Supreme Soviet deputy.

Popov, Nikolay Ivanovich: Commander-in-chief of troops in a sector, army general; born 1930; Russian; CPSU member since 1953; graduated from Armor Troops Military Academy and USSR Armed Forces General Staff Military Academy; has served in the Soviet Army since 1948; beginning in 1951 held command and

headquarters positions in units in various military districts and in Group of Soviet Forces in Germany; 1979—became chief of staff and first deputy commander-in-chief of Far East Military District; took command of Siberian Military District in 1981, Turkestan Military District in 1984; became commander-in-chief of troops in a sector in 1989; CPSU Central Auditing Commission member since 1986; USSR people's deputy.

Postnikov, Stanislav Ivanovich: Commander-in-chief of troops in a sector, army general; born 1928; Russian; CPSU member since 1957; graduate of Military Academy imeni M. V. Frunze, USSR Armed Forces General Staff Military Academy; began working in 1947 as a fitter at a plant; has served in the Soviet Army since 1948; beginning in 1951 held command and headquarters positions in units of various military districts, in the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany and in the Northern Group of Forces; became commander of North Caucasus Military District in 1979, Baltic Military District in 1980 and Transbaikalian Military District in 1984; became deputy commander-in-chief of infantry in 1987, commander-in-chief of troops in a sector in 1988; CPSU Central Auditing Commission member since 1981; USSR people's deputy.

Rzayeva, Tamilla Nariman kyzy: Operator in an oil and gas extraction shop under Kirovneft Administration, Baku; born 1951; Azerbaijani; CPSU member since 1978; graduate of Azerbaijan State Pedagogical Institute of Foreign Languages; became secretary-typist in 1969; became shop operator for Kirovneft Administration in 1974; CPSU Central Auditing Commission member since 1986; AzSSR Supreme Soviet deputy.

Romazanov, Kabdulla Zakiryanovich: Steel maker in conversion shop of Karaganda Metallurgical Combine, Temertau; born 1947; Kazakh; CPSU member since 1970; graduated from secondary school for working youth; began career in 1966 as an unskilled laborer on a sovkhos; served in the Soviet Army, 1966-69; became cast iron ladle operator in 1969, assistant steel maker in 1973 and steel maker in converter shop of Karaganda Metallurgical Combine in 1978; CPSU Central Auditing Commission member since 1986; USSR people's deputy; USSR Supreme Soviet of Nationalities member.

Rubtsov, Nikolay Fedorovich: USSR Supreme Soviet Secretariat chief; born 1931; Russian; CPSU member since 1954; graduated from Law Department of Rostov State University, CPSU Central Committee Correspondence Higher Party School; began career in 1944 working on a kolkhoz; beginning in 1954 did Komsomol and party work in Rostov Oblast, serving as Komsomol raykom secretary, Komsomol obkom deputy department head, party raykom secretary, secretary, second secretary and first secretary of Komsomol obkom; became All-Union Komsomol Central Committee department head in 1961; beginning in 1966 worked as instructor, assistant department head and sector head in CPSU Central Committee Organizational Party Work Department;

became USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Secretariat chief in 1983, USSR Supreme Soviet Secretariat chief in 1989; CPSU Central Auditing Commission member since 1986.

Rybakov, Ivan Vasilyevich: Lathe operator at Kriogenmash Scientific PO, Balashikha, Moscow Oblast; born 1947; Russian; CPSU member since 1969; graduated from All-Union Correspondence Machine Building Institute; began career in 1963 as a lathe operator at a plant; served in the Soviet Army, 1966-68; in 1968 became lathe operator, in 1974 brigade leader of a Komsomol youth lathe operators' brigade and in 1984 lathe operator at Balashikha Kriogenmash Scientific PO; CPSU Central Auditing Commission member since 1986; USSR State Prize laureate.

Ryndina, Antonina Nikolayeva: Brigade leader at Shilovskiy Interfarm Cattle-Feeding Enterprise; Shilovskiy Rayon, Ryazan Oblast; born 1942; Russian; CPSU member since 1973, graduate of Ryazan Sovkhoz-Tekhnikum; beginning in 1957 was a worker and milker at Shilovskiy Sovkhoz; became a milker at Zheludevskiy Sovkhoz in 1965; beginning in 1970 became livestock hand and brigade leader at Shilovskiy Interkolkhoz Cattle Feeding Station; has been brigade leader of Shilovskiy Interfarm Cattle-Feeding Enterprise since 1978; CPSU Central Auditing Commission member since 1981.

Ryuutel, Arnold Fedorovich: ESSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman; born 1928; Estonian; CPSU member since 1964; graduate of Estonian Agricultural Academy; candidate of agricultural sciences and docent; began career in 1949 as a senior agronomist at an uyezd land department; served in the Navy, 1950-55; became a teacher in 1955; beginning in 1957 worked as chief livestock specialist and deputy director of Estonian Scientific Research Institute for Livestock Breeding and Veterinary Medicine; became sovkhos director in 1963, rector of Estonian Agricultural Academy in 1969, Estonian CP Central Committee secretary in 1977; became ESSR Council of Ministers first deputy chairman in 1979; has been ESSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman since 1983; CPSU Central Auditing Commission member since 1986; USSR people's deputy; USSR Supreme Soviet of Nationalities member; ESSR Supreme Soviet deputy.

Sagdiyev, Makhtay Ramazanovich: KaSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman; born 1929; Kazakh; CPSU member since 1953; graduate of Semipalatinsk State Teachers' Institute and Alma-Ata Higher Party School; beginning in 1950 worked as a teacher, principal and director of a school; served in the Soviet Army, 1951-54; beginning in 1955 was party raykom instructor, machine-tractor station party buro secretary, sovkhos party buro secretary, sovkhos director; beginning in 1966 served as first secretary of Sokolovskiy and Dzhambul'skiy party rayons and first deputy chairman of Turgay Oblispolkom; became KaSSR minister of the fish industry in 1980, chairman of Kustanay Oblispolkom in

1983, first secretary of Kokchetav Party Obkom in 1985, KaSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman in 1989; USSR people's deputy, USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of the Union member; KaSSR Supreme Soviet deputy.

Samilyk, Nikolay Ignatyevich: Kirovograd Ukrainian CP Obkom first secretary; born 1937; Ukrainian; CPSU member since 1961; graduate of Dnepropetrovsk Agricultural Institute; began career in 1959 as head of a kolkhoz mechanical repair workshop; beginning in 1960 worked as kolkhoz engineer and kolkhoz chairman in Dnepropetrovsk Oblast; beginning in 1968 was party raykom second and first secretary, becoming Dnepropetrovsk Party Obkom secretary in 1973; became Kirovograd Party Obkom first secretary in 1982; CPSU Central Auditing Commission member since 1986; USSR people's deputy.

Smirnova, Lyubov Yevgenyevna: Machine operator at Kazan Organicheskiy Sintez PO, Tatar ASSR; born 1944; Russian; CPSU member since 1974; secondary school graduate; began career in 1961 as a worker at Yudino Railway Station; beginning in 1963, following graduation from a technical school, became a machine operator at Kazan Organicheskiy Sintez PO; CPSU Central Auditing Commission member since 1986; RSFSR Supreme Soviet deputy; Hero of Socialist Labor.

Snetkova, Tatyana Ivanovna: Circuit board assembler at Leningrad Pozitron Scientific PO; born 1950; Russian; CPSU member since 1975; secondary school graduate; began career in 1967 as assembler's apprentice, later becoming assembler; became circuit board assembler at Pozitron Scientific PO in 1975; CPSU Central Auditing Commission member since 1986.

Storozhuk, Anatoliy Vasilyevich: Machine operator at Krivorozhstal Metallurgical Combine imeni V. I. Lenin, Krivoy Rog; born 1944; Ukrainian; CPSU member since 1972; graduate of Krivoy Rog Metallurgical Tekhnikum; began career in 1961 as fitter at a concrete panel housing construction trust under Krivorozhzhilstroy; became fitter for Krivoy Rog Housing Construction Combine in 1962; served in the Soviet Army, 1963-66; became electrical fitter for Krivoy Rog Streetcar and Trolley Administration in 1966; beginning in 1967 worked as fitter, operator-machinist and senior rolling press operator at Krivorozhstal Metallurgical Combine imeni V. I. Lenin, becoming machine operator in 1983; CPSU Central Auditing Commission member since 1986; Hero of Socialist Labor.

Stulpinene, Zinaida Antanovna: Weaver at Linas Flax PO in Panevezhis, LiSSR; born 1941; Lithuanian; CPSU member since 1965; graduated from a secondary school for working youth; has worked as a weaver at Linas Flax PO since 1960; CPSU Central Auditing Commission member since 1986; USSR State Prize laureate.

Subbotin, Aleksandr Mikhaylovich: Editor-in-chief of journal PROBLEMY MIRA I SOTSIALIZMA; born 1924; Russian; CPSU member since 1944; graduate of

Moscow Oblast Pedagogical Institute; studied at All-Union CP (Bolshevik) Central Committee Higher Party School in 1945-46; beginning in 1942 was a blue-collar worker and instructor at a plant, later becoming responsible secretary and editor of a large-circulation plant newspaper in the city of Elektrostal; beginning in 1946 became Elektrostal Komsomol Gorkom department head and second secretary, Moscow Komsomol Obkom deputy department head; became editor of MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS in 1951, editor of MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in 1958; became editor-in-chief of TRUD in 1963, AUCCTU secretary in 1980, editor-in-chief of PROBLEMY MIRA I SOTSIALIZMA in 1986; CPSU Central Auditing Commission member since 1986.

Sukhoruchenkova, Galina Fedorovna: AUCCTU secretary; born 1935; Russian; CPSU member since 1961; graduate of Moscow State University imeni M. V. Lomonosov and Moscow Higher Party School (by correspondence); beginning in 1958 worked as junior scientific associate, group leader and chairman of local committee of the State Synthetic Rubber Planning and Scientific Research Institute; beginning in 1970 served as secretary and later chairman of Moscow sector trade union gorkom, becoming in 1976 secretary of Oil, Chemical and Gas Industry Workers Trade Union Central Committee; became secretary of Chemical and Petrochemical Workers Trade Union Central Committee in 1977, central committee chairman in 1982; AUCCTU secretary since 1985; CPSU Central Auditing Commission member since 1986; RSFSR Supreme Soviet deputy.

Tatliyev, Suleyman Bayram ogly: AzSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman; born 1925; Azerbaijani; CPSU member since 1959; graduate of Azerbaijan State University; served in the Soviet Army, 1943-45; veteran of the Great Patriotic War; beginning in 1951 worked as technologist, shop supervisor, deputy chief engineer and deputy laboratory chief at plants in the cities of Groznyy and Sumgait; 1961—became AzSSR Economic Council department head; beginning in 1963 served as CPSU Central Committee Transcaucasian Buro inspector and Azerbaijan CP Central Committee deputy department head; beginning in 1965 became administration head, administrator of affairs and first deputy chairman of AzSSR Council of Ministers; AzSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman since 1985; CPSU Central Auditing Commission member since 1986; AzSSR Supreme Soviet deputy.

Tkachev, Sergey Petrovich: Artist; born 1922; Russian; CPSU member since 1950; graduate of Moscow State Art Institute imeni V. I. Surikov; academician, USSR Academy of Arts; served in the Soviet Army, 1941-45; veteran of the Great Patriotic War; did creative work in Minsk and Moscow Oblast starting in 1952; in 1968 became secretary, in 1976 chairman of the board of the RSFSR Union of Artists, serving simultaneously after 1977 as USSR Union of Artists secretary of the board; in creative work and RSFSR Union of Artists secretary of

the board beginning in 1987; RSFSR Supreme Soviet deputy; USSR State Prize laureate; RSFSR State Prize imeni I. Repin laureate; USSR people's artist.

Trofimova, Tatyana Gabrilovna: Production training supervisor at Secondary Vocational-Technical School #50 under Ufa Oil Refining Plant imeni XXII Syezda KPSS; Bashkir ASSR; born 1951; Russian; CPSU member since 1980; graduate of Ufa Oil Tekhnikum; began career in 1969 as machine operator in a shop of Ufa Oil Refining Plant imeni XXII Syezda KPSS; beginning in 1973 worked as a laboratory worker at the All-Union Scientific Research Institute for Chemical Pesticides; 1975—became laboratory worker at All-Union Scientific Research Institute for Petrochemical Production Processes; 1976—became machine operator at Novo-Ufimskiy Oil Refinery; 1987—became school production training supervisor; CPSU Central Auditing Commission member since 1986.

Trubilin, Nikolay Timofeyevich: RSFSR Council of Ministers deputy chairman; born 1929; Russian; CPSU member since 1959; graduate of Rostov State Medical Institute; doctor of medical sciences; beginning in 1953 worked as a surgeon, head of a rayon health department and city health department in Rostov Oblast; became Rostov Party Obkom instructor in 1961; beginning in 1962 worked as head of oblast health department and chief physician at Rostov Oblast Clinical Hospital; beginning in 1978 became deputy and first deputy RSFSR minister of health, becoming minister in 1983; RSFSR Council of Ministers deputy chairman since 1986; USSR people's deputy; RSFSR Supreme Soviet deputy.

Ulyanov, Mikhail Aleksandrovich: Artistic director of State Academic Theater imeni Yevg. Vakhtangov and RSFSR Union of Theatrical Workers chairman of the board; born 1927; Russian; CPSU member since 1951; graduate of Theatrical School imeni B. V. Shchukin (a part of State Academic Theater imeni Yevg. Vakhtangov); worked as an actor beginning in 1950, became artistic director of State Academic Theater imeni Yevg. Vakhtangov in 1987, after 1986 [sic] serving simultaneously as RSFSR Union of Theatrical Workers chairman of the board; CPSU Central Auditing Commission member since 1976; USSR people's deputy; Hero of Socialist Labor; Lenin Prize laureate; USSR State Prize laureate; RSFSR Vasilyev Brothers State Prize laureate; USSR people's performer.

Fateyev, Anatoliy Mikhaylovich: Leningrad CPSU Obkom second secretary; born 1931; Russian; CPSU member since 1955; graduate of Leningrad Engineering and Economics Institute; began career in 1948 as fitter-assembler at Leningrad Typesetting Machine Plant; served in the Soviet Army, 1951-54; beginning in 1954 worked at the same plant as fitter assembler again, later becoming senior engineer of a department, head of a shop technological bureau, party committee deputy secretary and secretary; beginning in 1968 served as secretary and second secretary of Petrogradskiy Party

Raykom; beginning in 1973 was department head and secretary in Leningrad CPSU Gorkom; in January 1986 became secretary, later second secretary, of Leningrad CPSU Obkom; CPSU Central Auditing Commission member since 1986; RSFSR Supreme Soviet deputy.

Khaldeyev, Mikhail Ivanovich: PARTIYNAYA ZHIZN editor-in-chief; born 1921; Russian; CPSU member since 1942; graduate of CPSU Central Committee Correspondence Higher Party School; served in the Soviet Army, 1939-45; veteran of the Great Patriotic War; beginning in 1945 worked as department head, second secretary and first secretary of Sverdlovskiy Komsomol Raykom in Moscow; beginning in 1950 was Moscow Komsomol Gorkom and Moscow Komsomol Obkom secretary, later becoming first secretary of Komsomol gorkom and obkom; 1957—became editor of MOLODOY KOMMUNIST; 1959—became Moscow Party Gorkom department head; 1961—became Timiryazevskiy Party Raykom first secretary, Moscow; 1963—became head of CPSU Central Committee Ideological Department for RSFSR Industry; became CPSU Central Committee Propaganda and Agitation department head for the RSFSR in 1965; editor-in-chief of PARTIYNAYA ZHIZN since 1966; CPSU Central Auditing Commission member since 1966.

Kharlamov, Aleksandr Pavlovich: SELSKAYA ZHIZN editor-in-chief; born 1929; Russian; CPSU member since 1952; graduated from Leningrad State University, CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences; candidate of philosophical sciences; beginning in 1949 served in state security organs; beginning in 1954 worked as lecturer and head of a group of lecturers under Orenburg Party Obkom; became editor of oblast magazine YUZHNY URAL in 1959; CPSU Central Committee Propaganda Department instructor beginning in 1967; beginning in 1970 became deputy and first deputy editor-in-chief of SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA; editor-in-chief of SELSKAYA ZHIZN since 1976; CPSU Central Auditing Commission member since 1976.

Khodzhamuralov, Annamurad: TuSSR Council of Ministers chairman; born 1935; Turkmen; CPSU member since 1961; graduate of Moscow Hydraulic Engineering Institute; began career in 1959 as sovkhoz chief hydraulic engineer; beginning in 1960 worked as inspecting engineer, senior engineer, chief engineer and director of Karakum Canal construction project; beginning in 1969 served as TuSSR deputy minister, first deputy minister and, as of 1979, minister of land reclamation and water resources; became TuSSR Council of Ministers deputy chairman in 1985, chairman in 1986; CPSU Central Auditing Commission member since 1986; USSR people's deputy; TuSSR Supreme Soviet deputy.

Khusainov, Yuriy Minivalich: BSSR Council of Ministers first deputy chairman, BSSR Gosagroprom chairman; born 1929; Russian; CPSU member since 1953; graduate of Zaporozhe Agricultural Machine Building Institute; candidate of economic sciences; beginning in 1952

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worked as foreman and designer engineer at Gomselmash Plant; became engineer of a machine-tractor station in 1953; beginning in 1957 worked as Gomel Oblast Agricultural Administration chief engineer and deputy head; became Mozyr Party Gorkom second secretary in 1960, Gomel Oblispolkom first deputy chairman in 1962; became BSSR minister of agriculture in 1967; in 1974 became Gomel Oblispolkom chairman, in 1978 Gomel Party Obkom first secretary; has been BSSR Council of Ministers first deputy chairman since 1982, serving simultaneously since 1985 as republic Gosagroprom chairman; CPSU Central Auditing Commission member since 1986.

Shabanov, Vitaliy Aleksandrovich: Senior foreman at Saratov Electrical Assemblies PO; born 1939; Russian; CPSU member since 1962; graduate of Saratov Aviation Tekhnikum; began career in 1956 as apprentice fitter, later becoming repair fitter at Serp i Molot Plant in Saratov; served in the Soviet Army, 1958-62; became fitter-assembler at Saratov Electrical Assemblies PO in 1962, regulator in 1983 and senior foreman in 1987; CPSU Central Auditing Commission member since 1986.

Shalyev, Atabally Babbayevich: Drilling foreman at South Turkmen Exploration Drilling Administration of Turkmenburgaz Trust, Turkmenagazprom PO, Mary Oblast; born 1945; Turkmen; CPSU member since 1976; graduate of a trade school; began career in 1963 as assistant driller in Exploratory Drilling Office #1 under the Turkmenburneft Trust; served in the Soviet Army, 1964-68; beginning in 1968 worked as assistant driller and driller for Shatlyk Drilling Administration under Turkmenneft Association; beginning in 1977 worked as driller and drilling foreman for Turkmenyuzhburgaz Associations, becoming drilling foreman of South Turkmen Drilling Administration in 1988; CPSU Central Auditing Commission member since 1986; USSR people's deputy; USSR Supreme Soviet of Nationalities member; TuSSR Supreme Soviet deputy.

Sharayev, Leonid Gavrilovich: Nikolayev Ukrainian CP Obkom first secretary; born 1935; Ukrainian; CPSU member since 1957; graduate of Nikolayev Shipbuilding Institute, CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences; beginning in 1958 was assistant foreman, foreman and Komsomol committee secretary at Black Sea Shipbuilding Plant; beginning in 1960 worked as second secretary and first secretary of Nikolayev Komsomol Obkom; beginning in 1967 became obkom department head and first secretary of Nikolayev Party Gorkom; beginning in 1975 became secretary and second secretary of Voroshilovgrad Party Obkom; became Nikolayev Party Obkom first secretary in 1980; CPSU Central Auditing Commission member since 1981; USSR people's deputy.

Sharapov, Viktor Vasilyevich: Soviet ambassador to Bulgaria; born 1931; Russian; CPSU member since 1958; graduate of Moscow Institute of Oriental Studies; in 1954 became literary editor of KRASNAYA ZVEZDA,

in 1959 editor of magazine DRUZHBA in Peking; beginning in 1960 worked as senior editor and editor-in-chief of news programming for USSR Council of Ministers State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting; on PRAVDA editorial staff as of 1961, working as correspondent, head of correspondence station in the PRC and deputy editor of Socialist Countries Department; entered the USSR KGB apparatus in 1971; became CPSU Central Committee assistant secretary in 1982, assistant to the CPSU Central Committee general secretary in November 1982; has been Soviet Ambassador to Bulgaria since 1988; CPSU Central Auditing Commission member since 1986; RSFSR Supreme Soviet deputy.

Shvetsova, Lyudmila Ivanovna: USSR Supreme Soviet Secretariat Awards Department head; born 1949; Russian; CPSU member since 1974; graduate of Kharkov Aviation Institute; became an engineer at Kiev Mechanical Plant in 1973; beginning in 1975 served as Komsomol raykom second secretary and first secretary; beginning in 1978 was Ukrainian Komsomol Central Committee department head and secretary; became All-Union Komsomol Central Committee secretary in 1981, serving simultaneously in 1984-86 as All-Union Pioneer Organization Central Council chairman; became USSR Supreme Soviet Secretariat Awards Department head in 1989; CPSU Central Auditing Commission member since 1986.

Shinkevich, Ivan Artemovich: Railway Transport and Transportation Construction Workers' Trade Union Central Committee chairman; born 1937; Belorussian; CPSU member since 1961; graduate of All-Union Correspondence Institute of Railway Transport Engineering; beginning in 1958 worked as a station watchman, station chief, railyard watchman, maneuvering dispatcher, senior assistant to station chief and station dispatcher; beginning in 1964 became station party buro secretary, deputy station chief, chief station engineer and deputy department head in a division of the Gorkiy Railway; became party raykom department head in the city of Gorkiy in 1971, senior rolling stock engineer of Gorkiy Railway in 1975; entered the CPSU Central Committee apparatus in 1976; became trade union central committee chairman in 1985; CPSU Central Auditing Commission member since 1986; USSR people's deputy.

Shcherbakova, Nina Nikolayevna: Weaver at Moscow Trekhgornaya Manufaktura Cotton Combine imeni F. E. Dzerzhinskiy; born 1937; Russian; CPSU member since 1967; graduate of evening secondary school; in 1952-53 studied at factory-plant training school attached to Trekhgornaya Manufaktura Combine; became weaver at Trekhgornaya Manufaktura Combine in 1953; CPSU Central Auditing Commission member since 1986; USSR State Prize laureate.

Yanovskiy, Rudolf Grigoryevich: CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences rector; born 1929; Russian; CPSU member since 1951; graduate of Ivanovo State Pedagogical Institute; USSR Academy of Sciences

corresponding member; began career in 1949 as a school teacher, later becoming instructor at a tekhnikum; became party raykom department head in 1957; became senior instructor at Novosibirsk State University in 1963; beginning in 1965 served as secretary, second secretary and first secretary of Sovetskiy Party Raykom, Novosibirsk; became Novosibirsk Party Obkom department head in 1976, CPSU Central Committee Science and Educational Institutions Department deputy head in 1978; has been CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences rector since 1983; CPSU Central Auditing Commission member since 1986.

IN THE CPSU CENTRAL AUDITING COMMISSION

On Compliance With the 1988 CPSU Budget (From CPSU Central Auditing Commission Session of 10 May 1989)

18050006e Moscow IZVESTIYA TsK KPSS in Russian
No 6, Jun 89 pp 71-74—FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

[Text] On 10 May 1989 a regular session of the CPSU Central Auditing Commission was held, with discussion centering on compliance with the 1988 CPSU budget. In preparation for the session the annual account of compliance with the party budget (for a report from the CPSU Central Committee Administration of Affairs on compliance with the 1988 CPSU budget see pp 116-119 of this issue), acts by local party organizations' auditing commissions and other documents were carefully analyzed.

After discussing these materials, as well as a report by N. Ye. Kruchina, CPSU Central Committee administrator of affairs, the CPSU Central Auditing Commission Buro determined that overall party committees have done a good job of keeping within their budget.

CPSU budget revenues provide party organizations and party institutions with financial resources for the maintenance of those organizations and institutions and for the conducting of organizational, political, ideological, economic and other measures, including those connected with realization of restructuring in party work centrally and at the local level. In addition, a portion of CPSU funds were allocated to provide assistance to the victims of the Armenian earthquake. Physical resources were also sent to that republic. At the present time economic subdivisions under the CPSU Central Committee Administration of Affairs are building a combined kindergarten/nursery in Kirovakan which will have room for 140 children.

During the year the number of party organizations covering their expenses out of their own income and also contributing to the party budget increased by six, for a total of 35 organizations. The remaining 51 party organizations received subsidies from the CPSU budget.

The revenue section of the budget was fulfilled by 106.8 percent, with the goal for income from membership dues met by 107.5 percent. Revenue from the profits of party organs' publishing houses totalled 103.5 percent of the amount budgeted.

Expenditure of funds in 1988 was essentially conducted within the limits of approved allocations for all budget estimates for the maintenance of both the Central Committee apparatus and local party organs. For the party as a whole the expenditure portion of the 1988 budget was fulfilled by 94.5 percent, with this figure standing at 90 percent for the CPSU Central Committee apparatus and 93 percent for local party organizations.

The CPSU Central Auditing Commission Buro noted that substantial savings of funds earmarked for the maintenance of party committees and institutions were achieved. This was possible due to improvement in the structure of party organs and their apparatus and elimination of a number of oblast, city and rayon party committees.

Saving of party budget funds was also facilitated by realization of new approaches to party organs' implementation of capital construction projects. A number of plans for the construction of party committee administrative buildings were dropped from the 1988 capital construction plan, and this has made it possible to turn the volume of construction and installation work thus made available over to local soviets so that they can realize their own socioeconomic development programs.

At its session the CPSU Central Auditing Commission Buro also stressed the great importance of the new budget planning procedure introduced in 1988. Confirmation of the expenditure section of the budget by local party organizations and estimation by central party institutions of the total sum with deductions only for salary fund and capital investment funds, independent determination by party committees and institutions of allocations on the basis of budget sections and estimates, increases in the size of expenditure headings and other measures have significantly expanded the rights and increased the initiative and level of responsibility of party committees and institutions. This system permitted local party committees to spend the financial resources allocated to them more efficiently and avoid having to request additional allocations from the CPSU Central Committee. Thus one step has been taken in the direction of further democratization of intraparty affairs in line with the guidelines set forth at the 19th All-Union Party Conference and proposals by local party organizations.

In accordance with recommendations made previously by the CPSU Central Auditing Commission measures have been drafted and are being implemented with a view toward efficient utilization of funds for the maintenance of convalescent homes and motor vehicles, elimination of unprofitability in a number of economic operations, greater efficiency in the operations of party

organs' publishing houses, reduction in expenses for office supplies, intercity telephone calls, etc. For example, as a result of the measures that have been taken there has been an improvement in the use of beds at convalescent homes along with a 1.6-million-ruble reduction in expenditures for their upkeep, including 288,800 rubles saved on fuel and energy resources, and a 1.4-million ruble reduction in stockpiles of physical resources. Sanatoria and health resorts have expanded their range of paid services, are developing brigade forms of labor and are introducing lease and cooperative forms of financial operations. Administrators' rights have been expanded and convalescent home administration has been improved, thus permitting a reduction in administrative staff size.

There has been a noticeable increase in the level of information provided to communists and the public concerning the CPSU budget. The press has published various materials detailing the budget's contents, it has been reported that the CPSU Central Committee has decided to allow a portion of membership dues to be used at the discretion of primary party organizations, and accounts have been given on specific issues which are of interest to communists, issues pertaining to adherence to the budget and utilization of the party's financial and physical resources.

At the session emphasis was placed on the fact that in 1988 monitoring by the CPSU Central Committee, CPSU Central Auditing Commission, local party organizations and party organizations' auditing commissions of adherence to the budget was tightened. The status of dues payments was checked in 98.5 percent of primary party organizations, as were the day-to-day financial operations of many union republic party central committees, party kraykoms and obkoms and central and local party institutions and publishing houses.

However, the CPSU Central Auditing Commission Buro also noted that despite the high level of adherence to the budget overall shortcomings still remain in regard to individual sections and guidelines in the budget.

Despite the fact that the goal for that portion of budget revenue based on party membership dues was consistently overfulfilled appropriate measures to ensure the timely and correct payment of dues have not yet been put into effect.

Many party organizations have a growing number of CPSU members who do not pay their membership dues on time. The number of party members who are thus indebted was 87,000 on 1 January 1989, or more by a factor of two than on 1 January 1988. The sum of non-payment is still not decreasing, totalling 2.4 million rubles in 1988. Cases of underpayment were recorded in virtually one out of every three primary party organizations inspected and involved 620,000 party members. In some oblast party organizations, for example in Vladimir, Voronezh, Kostroma, Murmansk and Sakhalin, underpayments were discovered in one out of two

primary party organizations. In a number of party organizations the amount of underpayment has increased recently by factors of between 1.5 and two. This is true in the party organizations of Maritime Kray and Irkutsk, Kursk, Ryazan and Chuvash Oblasts.

Expenditures of 58,000 rubles of party membership dues approved by the secretaries of a number of primary party organizations were discovered in 1988.

The CPSU Central Auditing Commission Buro feels that these same shortcomings in the payment and recording of membership dues which occur year after year attest to the low rate of effectiveness of work done by party committee, primary party organizations and auditing commissions toward their elimination. Instances of an unprincipled approach to assessments of the status of party membership dues payment and accounting are occurring, as well as cases of failure to discipline communists for non-compliance with CPSU Charter requirements.

Some party committees are not checking up on the status of dues payment and accounting in their primary party organizations and are not considering these matters at their buro sessions. This was reported in documents submitted by auditing commissions under the Altay Kray, Moscow City, Komi Oblast and other party organizations. Throughout the entire party 6,099 primary party organizations were not inspected in 1988, with between six and ten percent of the total number of primary party organizations not undergoing inspection in the AzSSR, Krasnoyarsk Kray, and Gorkiy and Kalmyk oblast party organizations.

Certain party committees are not properly assessing inappropriate actions by some CPSU members resulting in embezzlement of membership dues. The Stavropol Kray Party Organization's Auditing Commission notes that 75 cases of misappropriation of membership dues, for a total of 1,800 rubles, were discovered in that kray in 1988. However, the raykoms and gorkoms of some of these party organizations do nothing more than state that instances of misappropriation of dues have been uncovered and the missing sums reimbursed, instead of giving a principled, partylike assessment of those instances and resolutely combatting them.

As in previous years, funds allocated for the conducting of seminars, mass political work and other propaganda work were not fully utilized, nor were the funds earmarked for party cadre training and advanced training. For example, in 1988 the Georgian CP Central Committee used only 47 percent of such allocations; in Latvia this figure was 85 percent, and in Estonia 87 percent.

In addition there have been cases of excessive expenditure of funds in certain areas of the estimated budget by some party committees. In a number of party committees excessive expenses for building maintenance and telephone calls have been discovered, and the use of automobiles has not yet been properly regulated.

The CPSU Central Auditing Commission Buro directed attention to the fact that in spite of the measures that have been taken stockpiles of physical and commodity values in a number of party committees on 1 January 1988 still exceeded standardized quantities for various types of goods; this situation exists, for example, in the Kamchatka, Kalinin, Novgorod and other party committees. Furthermore, auditing commissions are still not doing enough to monitor the status of stockpiles held at party organs' warehouses.

There are shortcomings in the realization of capital construction. A total of 39 party committees did not utilize all the capital investment funds allocated to them for this purpose. Among them were the Kirghiz CP Central Committee and Kemerovo, Pskov, Chelyabinsk, Chita and other oblast party committees. As a result of plan non-fulfillment completion of facilities is falling behind schedule, with a number of them becoming excessively delayed, and the volume of uncompleted construction is decreasing too slowly. Thus over a five-year construction period only 1.845 million rubles were spent on an administrative building in the city of Prokopyevsk, Kemerovo Oblast, or 62 percent of the building's estimated cost. A House of Political Education has been under construction in Chita since 1983, yet only 49 percent of its estimated cost have been spent on its construction thus far. The volumes of uncompleted construction at facilities belonging to those party obkoms total 276 and 200 percent of their total annual capital investment volumes, respectively.

The construction of several party organs' publishing houses is also proceeding in an unsatisfactory manner, for example construction of editorial offices for the Kirghiz and Tajik CP central committees publishing houses, newspaper offices in the city of Kuybyshev, a newspaper complex and an offset printing ink plant in the city of Omsk. The amount of uncompleted party publishing house construction on 1 January 1989 was 127.3 percent of the 1988 annual publishing house construction plan.

The CPSU Central Auditing Commission Buro feels that one of the reasons for current shortcomings in adherence to the party budget is formalistic and incomplete performance of their legitimate functions by a number of auditing commissions, artificial curtailment by them of their duties and their insufficient influence on the state of affairs within party organizations. Thus in 1988 almost one-fourth of all auditing commissions did not reflect membership dues indebtedness in their documents, and over one-half of all auditing commissions did not inspect the day-to-day financial operations of party organs' agencies and financial subsidiaries; 40 percent failed to inspect the operations of party publishing houses. Over one-third of the commissions did not submit any proposals on the basis of their audits, and many auditing commissions did not submit materials gathered in the course of their inspections to party committee buros.

Quite a number of party committees are making poor use of auditing work to reinforce discipline and raise communists' level of responsibility for compliance with charter requirements. They seldom review audit materials, do not always send jobs to lower-level auditing commissions and do not devote sufficient attention to the formation of those commissions' staffs or development of glasnost regarding auditing work.

After reviewing the materials submitted for its consideration the CPSU Central Auditing Commission Buro concludes that on the whole the 1988 CPSU budget was carried out correctly. In order to eliminate current shortcomings the CPSU Central Auditing Commission Buro proposes to intensify the attention paid by party organs, auditing and control-auditing commissions to adherence to the party budget, with a view primarily toward strengthening discipline and order in regard to membership dues payment, use of physical and financial resources and improvement of efficiency in party publishing houses' operations.

A resolution on the matter discussed was adopted and sent to the CPSU Central Committee.

CPSU Central Auditing Commission Buro

IN CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE COMMISSIONS

CPSU Central Committee Ideological Commission Session

18050006f Moscow IZVESTIYA TsK KPSS in Russian
No 6, Jun 89 pp 75-77—FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

[Text] A regular session of the CPSU Central Committee Ideological Commission was held on 5 May 1989. In addition to commission members the session was attended by the heads of a number of ministries and agencies, central ideological institutions and the mass information media and prominent social scientists.

Ideological problems in the development of interethnic relations at the present stage were discussed. Sixteen persons addressed the session.

In the course of a lively and frank exchange of opinions it was emphasized that a complex knot of problems—socioeconomic, political and ideological—has formed in the area of interethnic relations.

For many decades the area of ethnic relations has been indiscriminately dominated by Stalinist approaches, and this has resulted in theoretical stagnation and policy errors. The erroneous notion that the nationalities question had been completely and finally resolved in the USSR had a negative effect on the development of scientific research. The actual processes occurring in the republics were not studied, with uniform models of daily life, consciousness, etc. being imposed instead.

Even now, noted comrades V. G. Afanasyev, Yu. V. Bromley and G. L. Smirnov, there remain a number of key unresolved aspects in the theory of interethnic relations: understanding of the nature of a nation and the correlation between social/class factors and ethnic factors in the development of peoples. Also requiring reinterpretation are the categories of the ethnic and the interethnic, national vs. nationalistic, traditions and vestiges of the past. Too little work has been done on timely issues like the correlation between federation and autonomy, the dialectic of centralism and decentralization, self-government, the combination of union republics' rights and responsibilities, the state-legal and economic aspects of sovereignty, its hierarchical structure, and the fundamental differences between the concepts of self-government and separation.

All this will require qualitatively new approaches and development of modern concepts of interethnic relations. Marxism-Leninism must be purged of its vulgar accretions and dialectics followed in the development of Leninist views on the nationalities question; we must be guided fully by the Leninist methodology for resolving the nationalities question. It was stressed at the commission session that we must have in-depth analysis the two principal tendencies in the field of interethnic relations: toward internationalization and convergence of nations and peoples, and toward greater ethnic consciousness and demands for national development. The dialectics of these tendencies and their practical application in the political system, economic building and cultural policy should be the subject of serious research.

Considerable attention was devoted to problems of ethnic self-awareness. Under the influence of restructuring, democratization and politicization of society this self-awareness has increased markedly. This is a positive phenomenon. However, the danger of making an absolute out of the national idea was pointed out, as well as the danger of alienation from the ideas of internationalism and friendship among the peoples of the USSR.

In this context an analysis was made of tendencies in the development of ethnic self-awareness in a number of regions. Emphasis was placed on the need to work together with union republic party central committees toward a thorough analysis of the platforms and evolution of mass national movements, their social basis and their forms and methods of operation.

At the session it was pointed out that the process of increasing ethnic self-awareness has also affected the Russian Federation. There as well a large number of problems requiring comprehensive solutions have accumulated. There was discussion of the fact that the RSFSR lacks a number of state-legal and central institutions on the all-Russian level (Academy of Sciences, State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting, etc.). There was also discussion of the need to improve the mechanism for relations between the RSFSR and the national-state formations located within its territory. It cannot be regarded as just that in terms of their rights

autonomous republics and autonomous oblasts are in no way differentiated from ordinary territorial administrative formations. Furthermore, ASSRs do not have organs of representation in Moscow. The idea was put forward that a two-chamber republic Supreme Soviet should be established.

There was intense discussion of the problem of numerically small peoples, in particularly the peoples of the North. It was noted that the natural conditions for their day-to-day lives and activities have been altered. A number of languages are faced with the threat of extinction. The ecological situation is not good. All these things require urgent measures. In this connection Comrade V. N. Kudryavtsev submitted a proposal that a draft law on the Northern peoples be drawn up.

Commission member Comrade N. V. Gellert brought up the question of reestablishing a state entity for Soviet Germans.

The session also discussed the problems of other peoples who do not have their own state entities.

The state-legal aspect of interethnic relations and the role of ideological work in this connection was the subject of lively discussion. It was stressed that only in a law-governed state is it possible for the individual, nations, peoples and their state-legal formations to develop freely. There was discussion of the need to complete development of an effective mechanism of mutual relations between the Union and its component parts, decentralization and transfer of a large number of administrative functions to the local level, and greater autonomy and responsibility for republics in the economy, social and cultural development and environmental protection.

It was noted that party committees and ideological organs face the important task of instilling a correct understanding of Soviet federalism in the public consciousness and providing well-reasoned proof of its potential, which has thus far on account of a large number of objective and subjective factors remained unrealized.

Proposals were made that the Declaration and Treaties on the Formation of the USSR and the Soviet Constitution be reviewed in light of present-day realities; it was also proposed that the legal basis for a number of the constitution's articles be strengthened, specifically those articles dealing with sovereignty, the right to secede from the Union and transformation of national-state entities from one form into another.

Considerable attention was devoted by commission members (comrades V. G. Zakharov, G. A. Yagodin, A. A. Belyayev and others) to the complex of ethnic culture issues. Among other things it was noted that bilingualism is not the norm in all places. This creates significant difficulties in terms of interethnic communication, familiarization with the cultures of other peoples and military service. On the other hand, there are also cases

of infringement on national languages and unwillingness on the part of a segment of the Russian population to learn the language of the people of the republic in which they live.

The importance of creating qualitatively new textbooks on the history of the USSR's peoples which would reflect all the wealth of their past was expressed. There was also discussion of intensified propaganda promoting the cultural values of our country's peoples, especially in view of the fact that tendencies toward cultural exclusiveness can be observed in some places.

It is essential, the session noted, that we follow a consistent course toward ensuring that people of any nationality who live outside the territory of their state-territorial formations or have no such formations have opportunities to satisfy their needs in terms of education, ethnic creative work and establishment of ethnic culture center.

The present stage in our country's development requires new approaches to propaganda in favor of the CPSU's nationalities policy and to the formation of an internationalist consciousness and a culture of interethnic communication. Ideological educational work should take socialist pluralism of opinion into account, recognize the priority of common human values and be conducted in a well-reasoned and constructive manner. It is important that we study public opinion, ethnic characteristics and the psychology of large and small groups more fully. As Comrade Yu. N. Yelchenko noted, we must have a clear vision of the connection between ethnic and religious elements which is gaining strength in a number of regions, and recognize the threat posed by a clerical-nationalist alliance.

A number of specific proposals were submitted:

- to implement retraining of leading party and ideological cadres on matters of interethnic relations theory and practice through the CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences and higher party schools;
- to expand the network of newspapers, magazines, publishing houses and television and radio studios using national languages;
- to continue the practice of holding theoretical and scientific-practical conferences on timely interethnic relations questions; to summarize the best experience with internationalist education of working people and young people and organize publication of books and pamphlets on these topics.

The timeliness of establishing a Center for the Study of Interethnic Problems in the USSR was discussed.

The great significance of the upcoming CPSU Central Committee plenum on interethnic relations was underscored. However, it was also noted that excessive expectations have been generated by it. Hence the importance of molding public opinion in such a way that the plenum's most important task will not be so much to

solve accumulated problems as it will be to develop a new concept and strategy in nationalities policy.

It would be appropriate to make use of the thoughts, recommendations and proposals put forward by commission members in the course of preparation of plenum materials and take them into consideration in practical work by CPSU Central Committee departments.

The session also considered a USSR draft law entitled "On Freedom of Conscience and Religious Organizations." The CPSU Central Committee Ideological Commission members attached their proposals to it. After additional editing this draft law will be submitted to the CPSU Central Committee Politburo.

V. Medvedev, 13 May 1989

Ideological Problems of Interethnic Relations (From CPSU Central Committee Ideological Commission Session of 5 May 1989)

A report on this subject was delivered by G. L. Smirnov, commission member and director of the CPSU Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism. He devoted particular attention to Leninist principles of nationalities policy. Speaking about federations as a voluntary union of nations, V. I. Lenin warned that "such a union cannot be realized all at once; it must be worked for with the greatest patience and caution, so as not to ruin the cause, in order to give mistrust time to be forgotten..."

The Leninist doctrine on nationalities relations should not be implemented piecemeal, but rather in its entirety, with attention given to its internationalist essence and process of development. Those who take individual passages from Lenin's letter "On the Matter of Nationalities or On 'Autonomization'" and attempt to portray V. I. Lenin as a supporter of confederation are taking the wrong approach. For Lenin's thoughts on federative union and the close unity of nations, toward which communists strive, are well known.

It is also essential that we correctly interpret Lenin's idea of nations' right to self-determination. Perceiving self-determination as nations' right to state systems freely chosen by their peoples, V. I. Lenin unceasingly explained that this did not inevitably mean separation (especially under socialism): "Separation is not our plan at all. We do not preach separation at all. Generally speaking we are opposed to separation."

As is well known, at the fourth meeting of the Russian CP (Bolshevik) Central Committee with senior officials of national republics and oblasts (in 1923) both the concept of a "united and indivisible Russia" and the view of the union of republics as some sort of conglomerate in which national state units would exist and which would not have any unified state will or sovereignty as a group were both rejected.

However in the process of the USSR's origins and development, the speaker stated, I. V. Stalin crudely

distorted Leninist nationalities policy. Unwilling to deal with full equality between sovereign peoples, I. V. Stalin put forward the idea of "autonomization," which in essence amounted to incorporation of all republics into the RSFSR. As is well known, this idea was sharply criticized by V. I. Lenin.

In the 1930's repressions were launched against those national cadres who remained true to Leninism, though these were camouflaged by the "necessity" of combatting Trotskyism, national-deviationism and bourgeois nationalism. In 1935-36 in Transcaucasia alone 456 prominent members of the party and state apparatus were repressed, of which cases 186 took place in Georgia, 128 in Azerbaijan and 142 in Armenia. Virtually all party committee first secretaries in the Northern Caucasus, Central Asia and Kazakhstan were repressed. Subsequently, in 1939-40, there were cases of repression in the Western Ukraine, Belorussia and the Baltic republics. In 1948 virtually all leading cadres in the Estonian SSR party organization were repressed in connection with the "Leningrad case." During the same period the struggle against cosmopolitanism was artificially unleashed, and monstrous propaganda proclaiming the absolute superiority of Soviet science and culture over Western models was accompanied by the infamous "doctors' case," which had anti-Semitic overtones. Accusations that entire peoples were guilty of treason, elimination of their state entities and their subsequent resettlement were in flagrant violation of Leninist nationalities policy. The Stalinist thesis that the nationalities question had been resolved, an idea which with certain modifications was actively propagandized during the stagnation period as well, did great harm to the theory and practice of ethnic relations.

As a result ethnic relations were beyond criticism. Negative phenomena which had been accumulating for decades were ignored or kept hidden and did not receive a proper assessment by the party. In a number of regions we are witnessing a resurgence of clan-tribal relationships, which have adapted to the socialist system. There was a failure to take into account the traditions of a number of peoples who were in areas with Islamic ideology, which made a sacrament out of a high birth rate and a low rate of population mobility. Formation of industrial units in the working class out of local populations was virtually completely neglected. As a result in some regions the percentage of persons of native ethnicity in the working class is virtually insignificant. Distortions in the social structure of certain peoples could not fail to be reflected in a weakening of internationalism in a number of republics.

Small peoples' natural desire for self-preservation was ignored. The policy of dictates sent down by the ministries and mindless execution of their instructions by local bureaucrats exacerbated the situation everywhere, though naturally not all Soviet nations want to admit that. Fertile soil was created for ethnic mistrust and worsening of interethnic relations.

There is no doubt that the inflexible policy of "forced" atheism also harmed the cause of internationalism; this policy was made even worse by the failure to take into consideration the existence of over 40 faiths, not counting clan-tribal cults, and was accompanied by "cavalry raids" on religion.

The marked increase in social differences within Soviet peoples, the speaker commented, has been one reason behind negative phenomena in interethnic relations. In some republics the percentage of persons of native ethnicity in the total population has declined (to 53 percent in Latvia, for example), while in others this percentage has risen (to 89.7 percent in Armenia, for example). There are growing differences in the percentage of the able-bodied population not employed in public production (for example, in the RSFSR this figure is 7.7 percent, in the Uzbek SSR 22.9 percent and in the Azerbaijan SSR 26.7 percent, and among the Northern peoples ranges from 17 to 38 percent). Disproportions in the population's employment structure are on the rise. Specifically, 77 percent of the RSFSR's population is concentrated in cities, whereas between 70 and 84 percent of Bashkirs, Buryats, Mari, Mordvin, Udmurts and Chuvash are employed in agriculture. In the 1959-86 period the rural population of the USSR decreased by nine percent, while in the Central Asian republics it grew by a factor of 2.1. Large-scale shifts in the social structure are occurring in the Baltic republics, the essence of which is a move by the native nationalities from industrial production into administration, culture and services. This process results in a dramatic preponderance of members of other nationalities in various industrial production sectors (up to 80 percent in Latvia and Estonia).

In his speech the CPSU Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism director also expressed his viewpoint on various independent formations. In a number of republics people's fronts have become a serious political force, one which demonstrates that there are a number of acute problems in those republics' economic and political life which require democratic resolution. Many points in the people's fronts' programs are of a general democratic nature and aim at restoration of ethnic culture, oppose bureaucracy and stagnation and support glasnost and democratization in various areas of life. These points form a positive basis which should be supported and further developed.

However, there are in the people's fronts' actions and ideology also some aspects which are unacceptable from the standpoint of the socialist path of development. In many cases the genuinely democratic nature of these movements is called into doubt by the discriminatory methods which they apply to achieve their proposed goals and in a number of cases by their refusal to grant rights and privileges to members of other nationalities and their proclamation that priority should be given to the interests of the so-called principal nation, which often leads to ethnic exclusiveness and narrow-mindedness.

Under these circumstances groups from other nationalities whose protection was threatened have now stepped up their activities. In a number of republics interfronts have been established and have their social basis in the technical intelligentsia, the working class of major industrial enterprises, retirees and students from the non-native population. The leading role in these sociopolitical organizations is played by members of the Russian-speaking technical intelligentsia. The political spectrum in the intermovements is also heterogeneous and manifests ideological dissension between democratic and conservative tendencies.

The attitude of party organizations toward these public organizations, which have now become influential political forces, remains contradictory. A certain confusion in the ranks of party and ideological workers, their inability to get their bearings in this new situation and their lack of skill in communicating with the masses have in a number of cases resulted in the loss of their vanguard positions. On the one hand there has been sharp hostility toward various types of unofficial organizations, while on the other hand there have also been attempts to wait them out or to curry favor with them. This sort of extremes must be eliminated.

The primary question is toward which ends and by what means, in view of existing social interests, accumulated problems are going to be resolved. In practice three different approaches to problem solving have been observed: 1) through ethnic exclusiveness and an ideology of "priority for the principal's nation's interests"—this has been put forward by groups which reject the socialist choice and by some members of the people's fronts; 2) through emphasis on preservation and reinforcement of the existing principles of the command-administrative system—this approach is championed by the bureaucracy and by some groups in the interfronts; and 3) through democratic transformations in political and economic life on the basis of a revival of the Leninist concept of nationalities relations—this is proposed by healthy forces within the party and the sociopolitical movements.

As for the ideological and organizational preparedness of the party and state apparatuses at the local level to carry out an internationalist policy, there are two main factors which hinder this: 1) the force of administrative inertia, which defines the apparatuses' motivation and behavior; and 2) the complex situation within republic party organizations, where the interests of rival forces are reflected.

Furthermore, the level of party workers' preparedness in the field of Marxist-Leninist doctrine on nationalities relations, as indicated by the findings of sociological surveys in Moldavia, Latvia, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan, remains low, and this cannot fail to have a negative effect on party organizations' ability to resolve ethnic problems in a timely manner. As a rule party organizations at various levels do not consider matters pertaining to bilingualism, migration, ethnic conflicts, etc., nor are

they planning to step up their ideological work in this area. The ideological views of many party and Komsomol workers who are of native ethnicity are often based upon principles which are an attempt to rationalize social and political privileges on the basis of ethnicity.

Each of the ethnic problems which exists at the present time is a tangled knot of relationships on various levels, from the economy to culture, analysis and evaluation of which must not be reduced to crude levels. These must be performed on the basis of accurate knowledge of all the nuances of a situation and its historical and psychological roots.

Speaking during the lengthy exchange of opinions, V. G. Afanasyev, commission member and PRAVDA editor-in-chief, commented that the causes which have made ethnic relations such an acute problem today are many. They are of both an objective and a subjective nature. Our state is unique in terms of its ethnic composition, comprised as it is of over 100 peoples and ethnic groups. All of them have their own history and culture, their own interests and needs. And, of course, guiding processes under these conditions is a very, very difficult task, especially since real scientific work in the field of theory on the nationalities question has only been done occasionally, usually on the basis of Stalinist works, unfortunately forgetting about V. I. Lenin.

Today there is a great deal of confusion in the theory on this issue. For instance, the following concepts exist: national, nationalist and internationalist. Without analyzing these in depth it is impossible to discover the essence of the nationalities question and ethnic relations. However, in many cases we interpret what is national as nationalistic, or we do the opposite, concealing nationalism under the guise of national attributes, or passing off the national as internationalism, or vice versa.

There has not been any in-depth study of the actual processes occurring in our republics. Boastfully proclaiming the slogan that the nationalities question has been resolved in our country and lulling ourselves with numerous festivals and culture days, we believed that everything was fine here. As a result problems in ethnic relations were driven inward but not solved.

Now we have a new formula: a strong center and strong republics. But has anyone explained what that means? The republics are convinced that it is first and foremost they who should be strong, but the center also feels that it should be strong. Thus far no one in our country, including scientific and party workers, has adequately explored this dialectic of centralization and decentralization, the internationalist and the national.

The rise in interethnic relations problems is probably also connected with a certain merger of the mafia and criminal groups with various nationalistic and extremist elements.

The issue of glasnost is an important aspect of the nationalities question. Let a newspaper write two lines more about one people than about others and members of other nationalities immediately take offense. Sometimes we err by not being clear. In a number of cases the central press has been accused of a lack of objectivity, of one-sided coverage of events. We are also hearing demands that we recall all central newspaper correspondents from the Baltic republics, for example, which say that they will make their own assignments. In this regard as well there has been much which was not well planned: a republic would often be sent correspondents who did not know the native population's language. Today we must give very serious linguistic, historical and cultural training to the people we recommend for posts in the republics.

The nationalities question is a very difficult and delicate one, said **G. A. Yagodin**, commission member and USSR State Committee for Public Education chairman. Statistics reflect a tendency toward a decline in the number of nations, peoples and ethnic groups. This process is occurring around the world. An extremely delicate situation has arisen in Russia in regard to the peoples of the North, because those peoples have the least social protection. In this respect education and the schools play an extremely important role. However, as soon as 1 September comes around schoolchildren are brought in from their nomad camps to attend first grade at boarding schools, cutting off seven-year-old children from their families. We must fundamentally rethink our policy in this regard and establish schools which do not require children to attend school away from home until at least the age of 14. The present system angers people and has a negative effect on their way of life. The pedagogical institute in Leningrad which deals with the Northern peoples should probably also be moved to somewhere else, to Krasnoyarsk.

From the standpoint of schooling it is very important that we ensure national-Russian and Russian-national bilingualism. This principle is being implemented in various ways by various republics. In the Ukraine and Belorussia it has essentially been adopted. In Georgia it is functioning normally, and in Kazakhstan it is also functioning well at the present time.

However, a number of republics are of the opinion that the national language should be protected as the official language and Russian will supposedly survive somehow. There is no need to enunciate its rights, because a significant portion of the population will still choose Russian as the language of instruction for their children's sake, and then it will be the national language that suffers. Perhaps bilingual textbooks should be published.

In any event, we are presently witnessing two different processes. Whereas in Kazakhstan the process is one of greater mutual respect for language study and establishment of joint kindergartens using two languages and joint schools where one class studies in Kazakh and

another studies in Russian, in the Baltic republics kindergartens and schools are being separated on the basis of language. Mixed schools, where some classes are taught in Russian and others in Estonian or Latvian, are ceasing to exist.

Another matter concerns the teaching of other subjects, especially history. There has been an obvious distortion in textbooks of the history of the USSR, turning them into histories of Russia; this distortion is obvious and must be corrected.

In his speech **Yu. N. Yelchenko**, commission member and Ukrainian CP Central Committee secretary, noted that the Ukraine, like other republics, is feeling the acuteness of ethnic and interethnic problems. In this connection he talked at length about the state of theoretical work, declaring that in addition to the obvious theoretical confusion there are also simply many blank pages which must be filled in as quickly as possible.

Consider, for instance, the matter of the uniqueness of our Soviet Socialist Federation. We perceive that uniqueness in the rather complex combination of union republics' rights and responsibility. I would like to emphasize the second concept, responsibility, because some comrades champion only republics' rights.

Secondly, it is essential that we have a clear-cut interpretation of the concepts of republic self-determination and separation. Or, say, the concepts of republic state-legal and economic sovereignty. Nationalistically inclined elements have long since made these concepts into absolutes and are speculating in them in a particularly dangerous way. These questions require more in-depth theoretical elaboration.

The principle of bilingualism has still not been dealt with in a sufficiently well-defined manner. Many people simply do not understand the practical meaning of this formula or the realm in which national-Russian bilingualism is to be applied. The question of whether the national language should be made official is also an urgent one.

The issue of religion's place in ethnic and interethnic relations is by no means a secondary one, either. Are we not being pulled in the wrong direction? The history of the Soviet Ukraine proves that the clerical-nationalist alliance is something very dangerous indeed.

Improvement of interethnic relations, said **T. N. Khrennikov**, commission member and USSR Union of Composers first deputy secretary of the board, will require a change in our approaches to the work of public organizations. We have always been convinced that it is always possible to find an acceptable solution if a spirit of friendship and a spirit of comradeship prevail. Our Composers' Union has been able to create that kind of atmosphere and arrive at absolute unanimity without injuring the ethnic dignity of composers in our republic organizations.

N. V. Gellert, commission member and equipment operator at Sovkhoz imeni Amangeldy in Tselinograd Oblast, Kazakh SSR, emphasized that in the great family of Soviet peoples all should be equal and all should have equal opportunities for ethnic development.

Firstly: Every people should have its own state entity, its own home. In our country there are peoples which have union republics, peoples which have autonomous formations and peoples which do not have any state entity at all. The latter should be granted such state entities.

Secondly: Every people should be master in its own home. The worsening of interethnic relations is probably to a large extent due to the fact that the people still do not feel that they are the master. When this changes the acuteness of the situation will decrease as well.

Thirdly: Every people should have the right to determine its own fate, to arrange its affairs in accordance with its own interests and to develop its language and national culture without hindrance. No one knows better than the people itself what it needs and how to do what it needs done.

I submit that if we observed these principles with respect to every one of the Soviet peoples the nationalities question in our country would be solved and friendship and mutual respect between all our peoples would be ensured.

The speaker strongly criticized a speech made at the April CPSU Central Committee Plenum by V. K. Kalashnikov, Volgograd Party Obkom first secretary, who took a negative stance on the idea of reestablishing a state entity for the two million Germans from the former German autonomous republic on the Volga.

I have read, she said, materials from the 1st All-Union Conference of Soviet Germans, which was held in March of this year in an atmosphere of good will. One of those materials was an appeal from the conference to the present population of the aforementioned territory. This appeal makes reference to the fact that the idea of reestablishing the German republic on the Volga which was unjustly liquidated by I. V. Stalin has received broad support from the entire Soviet people.

However, a question arises: what about the population which inhabits that territory today? The conference delegates assured those people on behalf of all Soviet Germans that Germans want to live together with them in peace, friendship and harmony, as they did for almost two centuries. The appeal states that we suffered together with all Soviet people the tragedy of war with its innumerable victims and feel that it would be impossible for us to demand the return of our homes and property which were illegally confiscated in 1941 when we were deported, for that was not the Soviet people's fault, much less the fault of those people who are living in our houses today. Let our homes, in which we were born and which along with all their property, outbuildings, livestock and stockpiles of food became a refuge for thousands and

thousands of people from Belorussia, the Ukraine and Russia's European oblasts during the harsh years of war, let these houses be as much home to you as they were to us. The conference delegates stated that Soviet Germans do not claim the former capital of their republic, the city of Engels. It will be necessary to build new houses, villages and cities for the Soviet Germans who will move there.

As a USSR Supreme Soviet deputy I have received and continue to receive many letters, including letters from Soviet Germans. Many have already grown weary of waiting and have given up hope. This is attested to by the growing numbers of German immigrants leaving our country. Yet the overwhelming majority of Soviet Germans cannot conceive of their future apart from their Soviet homeland and continue to believe that their republic on the Volga will be reestablished. And that they will thus be able to revive their culture and their language and will be able to preserve themselves as a people.

I think that the problem of interethnic relations is so complex, said T. G. Ivanova, commission member and RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium deputy chairman, that it is not only inappropriate but, in view of the acuteness of these issues, actually dangerous to deal with in on an unprofessional, dilettantish level.

One of the most important problems within the complex of international relations is the possibility of realizing the Russian Federation's sovereign rights as a union republic. Virtually no one has given any thought to this matter.

The general public is more and more insistently directing attention to the fact that the Russian Federation does not have a number of state, public and scientific structures which are possessed by other union republics and which are vitally necessary. Approximately 30 million members of various peoples living in the RSFSR are deprived of national-administrative autonomy. The number of national schools has declined significantly. Training of national scientific cadres is on the decrease. The quality of specialists' training has declined. The realm in which national languages are used has been curtailed. Scientific academies do not deal seriously with the RSFSR's problems.

For the sake of ensuring effective scientific guidance of the development of socialist nations it seems essential that a Russian Academy of Sciences be established, or even just a system of appropriate scientific centers, including regional ones, which would help research and solve the problems we face in a comprehensive manner. Justified concern has been expressed about the fact that the RSFSR is the only union republic which does not have its own republic television and radio broadcasting center.

The various forms of social-territorial formations—union and autonomous republics, autonomous oblasts and okrugs, the speaker continued, have varying abilities to satisfy their ethnic needs. Budget allocations are

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substantially less to autonomous republics than to union republics, despite the fact that many autonomous republics surpass union republics both in terms of their economic potential and in terms of their contribution to our country's unified economic complex and budget.

The language problem is a complex aspect of interethnic relations. The fact that in the RSFSR's national formations the number of persons reading, studying and speaking their native language continues to decrease is cause for serious alarm. According to data gathered by sociologists in the course of studies conducted in cities located in autonomous oblasts roughly 40 percent of young people there either do not know their native tongue at all or else have only a poor knowledge of it. And it must be acknowledged that the proper conditions for language study have not been created everywhere.

Many autonomous republics are proposing that a two-chamber RSFSR Supreme Soviet be created. Though that is no solution; perhaps we should be talking about establishing a Committee for RSFSR Nationalities Affairs.

We must admit, said **A. A. Belyayev**, commission member and SOVETSKAYA KULTURA editor-in-chief, that we are still approaching many problems in interethnic relations from a dogmatic standpoint, or else hastening to apply bureaucratic measures. We must also be clearly cognizant of the fact that there is no reason to expect a quick solution to conflict situations in interethnic relations. It will require years of stubborn and innovative work to alleviate the tension which surrounds this issue. There are two aspects to this: firstly, urgency and extremism, which lead to direct confrontation between peoples, must be eliminated at once, and I believe that in this regard we need to take energetic action across the whole spectrum of issues and work, debate, discuss and seek compromise solutions. But when extremists go beyond the bounds of the law we should not hesitate to apply the law and to apply it publicly and openly.

And the second aspect: upbringing of young people in an internationalist spirit. In this respect as well it would be useful to analyze the dynamics of study by young people of republics' native ethnic groups at VUZs in Moscow, Leningrad and other cities. A study indicates that there are virtually no students from the Baltic republics or Central Asia at arts and culture VUZs in Moscow. Now we are seeing a tendency toward national cultural exclusiveness. At the same time we need to be seeking forms for educational work with the Russians who live in national republics.

At one time, in order to help create national cadres, said **V. G. Zakharov**, commission member and USSR minister of culture, we established a quota for admission to VUZs in Moscow, Leningrad and other cities in the RSFSR, allowing a certain number of individuals to enter without examinations or on a special basis. Now we have a situation in which some republics must help

other republics produce cadres. They are producing specialists at a rate between one-and-a-half and two times higher than throughout the Union as a whole. We should probably be thinking about how to organize a genuine interrepublic cadre exchange and mutual assistance with cadre training. That is the first thing.

Secondly, I feel that the narrow interpretation of a cultural revolution which took shape in our country in the 1930's was a poor contribution to the development of interethnic relations. V. I. Lenin repeatedly warned that culture cannot be limited to language or greater literacy. That is not culture. Culture is a broader concept. We basically limited our efforts to literacy and thus deviated seriously from Lenin's concept of culture. If we speak of culture in its broader sense we find that it has suffered grievously from the "leftover principle" in its financing, receiving less and less funding. Allocations from national income for cultural purposes are different in each republic, varying from 26 rubles (the highest level of financing) to five or six rubles per capita, yet in Russia this figure is 7.3 rubles. Differences between union republics in terms of the number of theater visits per 1,000 persons reach a factor of four, the difference in rates of attendance at musical concerts is as much as a factor of eight, and rates of visits to art museums and exhibits vary by a factor of 35.

Attempts to make certain cultural values uniform have been observed. For example, Kazakhstan was required to have more choirs. But Kazakhs have never sung in choirs. In some places theaters of opera and ballet have been built which do not correspond to ethnic traditions. Now they stand half-empty. We must also realize that uniformity leads to distortions which encourage nationalism. We need completely new approaches and new principles for organization of cultural work. We have set up a commission of scientific and cultural figures which will deal with interethnic relations in the cultural field.

Ideological problems are based on objective processes, said **V. N. Kudryavtsev**, USSR Academy of Sciences vice-president and director of the USSR Academy of Sciences State and Law Institute. Of course it is true that we need to bring in new cadres and improve the quality of scientific research, and we need to learn how to dispute with and persuade our opponents. But how can we do this if the republics' economy and the state structure do not change, if legal standards remain unchanged?

Therefore I want to touch on one aspect of the state and the law: the problem of federalism. This problem must be solved by returning to Leninist principles. Specialists who have analyzed the state of affairs in this area are of the opinion that under the conditions which exist in our country a federation is the most reasonable and most efficient state system for the final years of the 20th century and probably for the 21st century as well. We must not swing from one side to another—neither toward a confederation nor toward a unitary state. But

our federation should be founded on new, modern principles. We must put new political thinking into practice in this area.

Firstly, we should think seriously about updating the 1922 declaration proclaiming the establishment of the USSR. The question has been brought up of creating a new treaty between republics. We should not simply dismiss this out of hand, because there is a real basis for this issue. In 1922 the republics joined together on the basis of a treaty. That means that that treaty can be modernized. The 1922 declaration could also be modernized and, for example, included in the text of the new Soviet Constitution—as was the case with the Soviet Constitution of 1924.

Secondly, we need a change in the correlation between the rights and authority of the USSR and union republics' rights and authority. At the present time this relationship is essentially weighted completely in favor of unlimited rights for the Union.

We must create a mechanism which will permit us to solve conflicts which arise between the USSR and the republics, in some cases by invalidating some act, in others by a petition to the Union Government that an act which runs counter to a republic's constitution and interests be repealed. If we are talking about a law-governed state, then the federation should also be a state governed by law. Therefore the republics are not only accountable to the Union, the Union is also accountable to the republics.

Of course, we must resolve the problem of republic property. This has been a serious oversight. There is no legislation governing property. Nor is there any mechanism for exercising a union republic's constitutional right to resolve through various organs matters which have been placed under the jurisdiction of the USSR. We have not solved the problem of direct ties between union and autonomous republics; obviously such relations are possible and necessary. Nor have we solved the problem of direct relations between union republics and foreign states.

We must think about the structure of a federal republic. This applies not only to the RSFSR. I believe that there are no obstacles to the creation of a second chamber in the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, one which would deal with the affairs of autonomous regions.

We need to develop separate legislation applicable to the numerically small peoples.

The situation in the area of interethnic relations is complex and urgent, noted **Yu. V. Bromley**, honorary director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Anthropology imeni N. Miklukho-Maklay. Restructuring itself is threatened. Our friends and our enemies abroad are all asking the same question: will not the nationalities question be our undoing?

I find it especially alarming, the speaker said, that the numerous specific concerns with which we live today are making the general theoretical treatment of this problem more difficult. Consider for instance treatment of the concept of sovereignty. We talk about republic sovereignty, but we forget that Union sovereignty also exists within the territory of the USSR. And absolute independence does not exist, even on the international level. We must take into account the hierarchical structure of sovereignty.

Another point. Today we are witnessing attempts to promote simplification of the arsenal of categories and concepts used to describe interethnic problems. Some people have gone so far as to reject the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism on this subject. Specifically, criticism has been leveled at concepts like the socialist nation and the Soviet people. In general we are seeing a sort of nihilistic attitude toward the term "nation." We are reducing everything to the ethnic and the national, emasculating the socioeconomic foundation.

The role played by the mass media has by no means always been a positive one, especially the role of the social and literary magazines. Their articles dealing with interethnic relations should be well-balanced. For instance, glasnost should not be used as grounds for discussing the harmed caused by bilingualism to the development of children's cognitive abilities. Practical experience from around the world indicates that it is precisely knowledge of several languages which expands children's intellect. We are once again seeing propaganda for the idea of superior and inferior peoples and about the harm done by mixed marriages. Often the people discussing these sensitive issues are by no means authorities, and the proposals they put forward are by no means well-balanced.

With regard to the ideological aspects of our interethnic relations, said **V. A. Mikhaylov**, CPSU Central Committee State and Legal Department deputy head, we need to begin with a reinterpretation of our entire theoretical baggage. We should not renounce fundamental Marxist-Leninist views, but rather reinterpret them. For instance, there is this Leninist concept: internationalization and a tendency toward self-determination and formation of independent states. It would seem that this is completely clear. However, today we are seeing a revival of a tendency, if not toward secession from the Union, then in any event toward sovereignty in the fullest sense of the term. This has happened because the rights of republics as state formations have indeed been substantially infringed upon. We can actually give real new content to what we have today without changing our structure.

Or consider for instance the official language problem. There is a distortion in this regard which needs to be corrected. And today the only solution is to give republics an opportunity to introduce an official language if they so desire and by democratic means.

A word about truth in history. If we do not accomplish the task of redoing textbooks on the history of the USSR we will never solve problems in internationalist education. The history of the USSR should truly be a history of the peoples of the USSR.

One final point: tact. Sometimes a disrespectful attitude and improper behavior create an almost critical situation. We need to pay some serious attention to the problem of how to instill in people a sense of interethnic communication.

I am trying to recall, continued **F. F. Kuznetsov**, director of USSR Academy of Sciences World Literature Institute imeni A. M. Gorky, continuing the previous speaker's line of reasoning, even one single Russian among my circle of acquaintances who has studied the language of even one other Soviet people. We have virtually ruined a great field of science which was once the glory of Russia: oriental studies. Our oriental studies specialists study foreign parts of the East almost exclusively. Yet the Moscow University Institute of Asian and African Countries was established on the basis of the Moscow State University Language Department's Eastern Section, which used to produce outstanding specialists. The university also had a chair for the languages of Soviet peoples. But that is all in the past. For many years now Moscow University has not been training any specialists on the languages of Soviet peoples. Yet it would be good not only to invite national cadres to study at Moscow University, but also send young Russians to the republics to study local languages.

Consider the USSR Academy of Sciences World Literature Institute imeni A. M. Gorky. It is virtually the only scientific structure in Moscow which does research on interethnic relations in a highly complex intellectual realm: literature. Yet literature is a medium for the formation of ethnic self-awareness. We are completely cut off from real information and knowledge about what is happening in the cultures of our peoples. Furthermore, all our communication is cut off. This should not be happening in a multiethnic power like the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, in a city like Moscow, where there are polyglots who know up to 30 foreign languages. Yet we do not have people who know their own country's languages. We need to start with the basics: organization of study of Soviet peoples' languages in Moscow and assignment of people to study in the republics.

Secondly: the nationalities question. This is a complicated dialectical knot which must be unravelled. But if we suppose that this knot will be untangled by the Central Committee plenum without any attention given to Russia, then we are profoundly mistaken. In Russia as well, among the Russian intelligentsia, among Russians, processes are developing which are very complex, difficult and at times dangerous. We must do everything we can to channel those processes in a healthy direction. But in order to accomplish that a great deal needs to be done, with respect for all nationalities and all republics, including Russia.

Ethnic relations have always demanded careful attention to psychology, emphasized **A. S. Kapto**, commission member and CPSU Central Committee Ideological Department head. Unfortunately, problems of social psychology, mass behavior, the psychology of the individual under extreme conditions and ethnic psychologies have essentially remained unstudied; they have remained outside the mainstream of our scientific research. The Academy of Sciences should make full use of our discussion here today as an impetus to step up this work. Incidentally, the CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences could do a great deal in this regard, especially its experts in the field of party propaganda.

We have had a very good, solid discussion of very timely issues in interethnic relations, emphasized commission chairman **V. A. Medvedev** in his closing statements. We have brought up very important, pressing and interesting questions. We have expressed a variety of opinions. This discussion confirms that a colossal knot of problems has been created. We face difficult, painstaking, complex and delicate work if we are to progress.

We have some very serious work to do in regard to development of a modern concept of interethnic relations which will be based on Marxist-Leninist traditions yet also take into consideration the great changes which have occurred in real life and in social practice in recent decades. One of the starting points for this work is to ensure that Marxist-Leninist theory on interethnic relations is freed from the accretions which it acquired in the period when Stalin was regarded as the principal theoretician on the nationalities question. Yet today we can still find many holdovers from that period in the arsenal which we are using, and sometimes those holdovers are represented as Marxist-Leninist values.

We should begin with the well-known definition of a nation. That definition must be subjected to critical analysis. It contains much that is artificial, mechanistic, vulgarized or oversimplified in regard to complex social processes. We cannot regard the question of the relationship of social/class and ethnic factors as a component of the concept of a nation as solved. Yet that question is of fundamental methodological significance for our understanding of everything that follows. Or consider this thesis: the nation is a produce of capitalistic development. Is this not a one-sided interpretation of this process?

Continuing, the speaker discussed the problem of blending of nations. We must, he said, carefully analyze the history of this question and the origin of this thesis, and the contribution made to it by V. I. Lenin. In general it would be interesting to follow the evolution of Lenin's concept of mutual relations between peoples, from recognition of the unitary state right up to his final statements in preparation for the establishment of the USSR, including his sharp criticism of the plan for "autonomization."

Today we have talked about deformations of our nationalities policy based on what were essentially incorrect theoretical views. Officially, in words, it seemed that everyone had dissociated themselves from the concept of "autonomization," but in actuality the process continued to tend toward formation of a single unitary state. This was the perspective taken when discussing language and blending of nations; it was assumed that blending of nations would occur gradually, first on a regional level and then worldwide. The formula "a culture national in form and socialist in content" also needs critical assessment; it has also suffered from a mechanistic approach and failure to take dialectics into account.

Of course, the number one issue is the need for fundamental reinterpretation of the two tendencies of social development which are presently being manifested in all areas: the tendency toward convergence and internationalization, and the tendency toward national self-determination based on growing ethnic self-awareness. We have always perceived the first tendency and emphasized it; the second one we have clearly underestimated. We need to delve into this matter more deeply. To what extent does a correlation exist between these two tendencies? How should this be reflected in the political system, in economic building or in cultural policy? This is a problem of tremendous, top-priority significance.

Solutions to numerous practical problems can be found using a serious theoretical base and by elaboration of theoretical problems and study of tendencies of development in interethnic relations.

Of course we should not think that the upcoming CPSU Central Committee will solve all problems right down to issues as specific as adjustments in the national-state structure, the language problem, cost-accounting and independence. That is not the plenum's purpose. Problems should be solved as they arise, without waiting for the plenum. All that we can and should expect from the plenum is elaboration of a genuinely new nationalities policy which is anchored in our theoretical tradition and takes present-day realities fully into account.

I believe that the valuable ideas and specific thoughts expressed here today will be included in the general stream of preparations for the plenum. The tone of our discussion is also important; it was aimed at truly acquiring deeper knowledge and solving problems, not merely making cosmetic repairs, but rather creating a foundation upon which to find fundamental solutions in the field of interethnic relations.

CPSU Central Committee Ideological Department

Improving the Economic Mechanism in Construction (From the 24 April 1989 CPSU Central Committee Socioeconomic Policy Commission Session)

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[Text] The CPSU Central Committee Socioeconomic Policy Commission held its regular session on 24 April

1989. Ways of increasing the yield from capital investments and improving the economic mechanism in construction were discussed.

The session was chaired and addressed by N. N. Silyunkov.

Prior to the session the commission members received a memorandum from the CPSU Central Committee Socioeconomic Department containing an analysis of the situation in the investment field, as well as materials from the USSR Industrial Construction Bank and the BSSR Council of Ministers and a USSR Government draft resolution on restructuring of investment administration and the economic mechanism in the construction field. The draft resolution was drawn up by USSR Gosstroy and USSR Gosplan.

A report on this matter was presented by A. G. Melnikov, commission member and Kemerovo CPSU Obkom first secretary. He noted that the draft government decision present by USSR Gosstroy does not fully comply with the Central Committee Politburo's requirements concerning restructuring of the investment field. A great deal of it is devoted to regulation of relationships between various central agencies, while virtually no mention is made of actual construction organization or economic relations between production collectives.

The speaker proposed a reduction of capital investment in production-related construction by 30-40 billion rubles, with the materials thus made available to be channeled to the trade network for sale to the public. It was also proposed that local soviets be granted the right to allocate independently funding for non-production-related projects and turn them over to enterprises in the construction and building materials industry or to allocate them to the appropriate sector of housing and civil construction. Major construction projects should be approved by the government only after comprehensive scientific elaboration and public discussion of such projects.

There is a need for more clear-cut definition of the draft's proposals concerning a transition in the construction industry to calculation based on completed construction. It is essential that restructuring be based on the experience of Belorussian builders. It should be clearly stated that builders, planners and all others persons involved in the investment cycle should be oriented toward production of a completed project; their prosperity should be directly linked to construction deadlines and quality. A project should be completed within standard time limits or sooner, be modern from a scientific and technical standpoint and be paid for at list prices.

In his opinion the document should be reworked and adopted within a short time frame.

V. M. Serov, USSR Gosplan deputy chairman, stressed the need to formulate clearly the criteria for economic and administrative responsibility on the part of those

who do capital construction. We first establish construction volumes, then we draw up specific construction projects to correspond to them. That is to say, planning is not based on needs, but is instead imposed from above through the establishment of funding limits. These are incorrect approaches.

It was proposed that fundamental changes be made in the planning system. Firstly, there should be a radical about-face of all investment policy to put it in touch with people. This has already been incorporated in plans for the 13th Five-Year Plan. Secondly, it is necessary to delineate clearly between functions and assign clear-cut responsibility for realization of investment policy, setting forth what is controlled by the state, what is to be turned over to the republics and local soviets and what is left for the enterprises. The republics should be put in charge of everything that has to do with realization of projects in the social sphere. The state will influence a republic solely through state orders. Ministries should carry out their own investment activity for projects in their own sectors using capital investment funds, which would be centralized in their hands, and funds allocated as state orders. Enterprises will carry out refitting and renovation and build social facilities for their collective using their own funds.

The speaker proposed that a Law on Investment be drafted and that financial responsibility for inefficient utilization of capital investment funds be introduced. In his opinion it is essential that USSR Gosstroy's functions be reassessed in order to relieve it of the necessity of overseeing production on a day-to-day basis.

M. S. Zotov, USSR Industrial Construction Bank chairman of the board, emphasized that the document to be developed should reflect all investment policy, not merely regulate relationships between contractors, planners and construction organizations. It is essential that there be a detailed analysis of the current state of affairs in the field of capital construction. Recently estimated construction costs have risen sharply. The increase in capital investment per one ruble of completed production averages five percent annually. In some ministries this figure is as high as 19 percent. The cost of housing construction rises by four to five percent annually. Thus all growth in capital investment is being "eaten up" by growth in the estimated cost of construction on account of higher building material costs, greater transportation outlays, poor use of equipment and excessive salaries.

Great latitude has been allowed in the formation of contractual prices. We conducted a selective inspection of a number of construction sites; at 3,000 of them we discovered unjustified expenditures totalling almost 350 million rubles. The main reason for those expenditures was the monopoly position held by construction organizations and planners.

The matter of price formation and estimated costs should be a central part of the new resolution. We should make bolder use of experience gained in the GDR. There

the cost of one unit of construction production is set for contractors by a ministry, and a Price Committee gives final approval for the overall cost of a construction project. Our State Committee on Prices should also participate in this way.

As for the problem of planning, the speaker said, we find that the volume of planning work is growing faster than capital investment. In the 1985-88 period construction and installation work expanded by 19 percent, while outlays for planning and surveying working increased by 79 percent, reaching a total of five billion rubles per year. In 1988 construction was begun on a total of 18,000 new projects at an estimated cost of 123 billion rubles, or 17 percent more than at the start of the current five-year plan. Yet at the same time fewer projects involving renovation or technical refitting of existing facilities are being undertaken.

The qualitative level of planning and construction is not improving. At the start of 1989 only six percent of the 1,408 production-related construction projects costing four million rubles or more and built with state capital investment funds were up to world standards as measured in terms of their basic parameters.

The speaker reserved especially harsh comments for the disheartening situation which exists in regard to utilization of imported equipment. We presently have a five-billion-ruble stockpile of uninstalled equipment. This figure has increased by 400 million rubles since 1988. There is an especially large backlog of equipment belonging to the Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy, the Ministry of the Chemical Industry and the Ministry of the Gas Industry. We must increase responsibility for "imported" construction projects; these should be completed solely on a priority basis.

The USSR Industrial Construction Bank chairman of the board expressed support for the proposal regarding drafting of a Law on Investment Policy, introduction of financial and administrative responsibility for inefficient utilization of allocated funding and a transition from free budgetary financing of construction to a system of loans which must be repaid.

A. A. Babenko, RSFSR Council of Ministers deputy chairman, commented that as we develop this new mechanism it is essential that we clearly state that what we need is not merely commodity construction output, but specific completed projects. The construction index used up until now has not yielded any positive results. The speaker proposed that the document being drawn up be linked to legislative statutes aimed at expanding the rights and independence of regions; that technical equipment suppliers' responsibility for the end result be increased; and that the machine building complex be delivered areas, not ready-to-use capacities.

V. Z. Vorisovskiy, UkSSR Council of Ministers deputy chairman, expressed support for a number of points in the draft resolution and made specific proposals concerning its additional editing. Specifically, priorities

should not be established for the development of individual sectors, since they can change, whereas the document is a long-range one. Capital investment funds allocated for industrial construction should be cut by not less than one-third as the 1990 plan is compiled. The funds thus made available would be redirected into the social realm. Capital investment funds given to ministries and agencies should be reduced to the amount of their above-plan volume of uncompleted construction, payment introduced for capital investments and for land used for new construction, and the statute on state orders in capital construction more clearly defined, higher limits for general overheads established for organizations which do "turn-key" construction, deadlines for completion of construction tightened, and sanctions applied against contractors for failure to utilize technical documentation.

It is essential that urgent measures be taken to strengthen the construction base, including the construction machine building base, increase the prestige of the construction trades, in particular through improvement of construction workers' housing and living conditions and higher pay, linking pay increases to the quality and timeliness with which construction projects are completed.

V. G. Yevlakh, BSSR Council of Ministers deputy chairman, underscored the fact that as long as construction workers' work continues to be assessed on the basis of their gross output, the total volume of construction and installation work, no directive is going to be able to halt the growth of unfinished construction. Up to 60 percent of construction and installation costs are spent on building materials. So builders are more interested in working on the initial stage of construction, where material-intensiveness is the greatest.

In Belorussia we have begun evaluating construction work solely on the basis of finished production. Regardless of how much funding construction organizations utilize, they only receive their bonuses when they have turned over ready-to-use completed facilities. Builders' profits also depend on this, as well as their entire socioeconomic development funds. As a result our republic has cut its construction time by a factor of 1.4 during the current five-year plan; uncompleted construction has been reduced to allowable levels and even somewhat lower. We have a different concern: to ensure that the areas in which we have caught up will make for a smooth flow of project completion.

If one evaluates the proposed document from this standpoint, it is obvious that it contains inconsistencies and contradictions. Thus, on the one hand there are plans to reorient the economic mechanism in construction toward final construction output, yet on the other hand it is proposed to pay off expenses for uncompleted construction up to 90 percent through advance payments on construction projects completed within one year and up to 95 percent on projects built over longer periods of time. Thus, what happens is that builders will receive 95

percent of the cost of a project before it is completed. This is an attempt to combine an anti-expenditure mechanism with an element of an expenditure mechanism. Therein lies the proposed document's principal shortcoming.

In order to make the anti-expenditure mechanism fully functional Belorussia has made a transition to stable contractual prices which remain unchanged for a period of five years. This precludes the possibility of excessive inflation of the cost of any one project and completion of that project at the expense of others.

Academician **L. I. Abalkin** directed attention to the fact that many of the measures proposed in the draft resolution have been considered previously but were not implemented at that time. It makes no sense to attempt to improve the existing system of capital construction; it requires radical reform and replacement with a fundamentally new mechanism. The construction plan should be completely balanced between construction organizations' surplus capacities and physical resources. Talking about the priority of state orders in terms of material-technical supply means admission of a shortage in the economy. All projects included in enterprises' plans for construction or technical refitting should be fully supplied with contractual organization capacities and physical resources. Then there will no longer be this monopolistic situation, which is the product of an unbalanced economy. We must sharply curtail our construction volume. And this curtailment should be carried out through technological chains rather than through the ministries. We need to list specific types of construction which we are prepared to sacrifice, and then follow this technological chain through all connected sectors.

The speaker expressed support for the proposals calling for a review of previous resolutions containing plan goals for allocation of capital investment funds above the five-year plan, a marked reduction in capital construction financing from the state budget, control over utilization of enterprises' development funds through economic levers, linkage between the draft resolution under consideration and basic directions in economic development for the 13th Five-Year Plan as a whole. In his opinion the proposed document contains too much detail. It should be shorter and more basic, linking two separate problems: return from capital investment and the economic mechanism in construction.

Yu. P. Batalin, USSR Council of Ministers deputy chairman, emphasized that the new economic mechanism in industry has not had the effect of reducing construction expenditures out of the state budget. Furthermore, the market of construction funds has expanded through substantial accumulation of enterprises funds. When preparing its draft resolution USSR Gosstroy focused its attention on the urgent problem of how to reduce the growth of uncompleted construction and bring it down to standard levels. However, standard allowable levels of uncompleted construction also need to be tightened.

The principal issue in capital construction is the transition to an anti-expenditure mechanism. This will be facilitated by the second cost-accounting model, to which not less than 70 percent of construction organizations will have made the transition by the end of the current year. But it will also lead to a sharp rise in salaries. Therefore it is necessary to introduce as soon as possible a system of progressive taxation and differentiated standards.

We propose, the speaker said, to implement a series of measures which will result in fundamental changes in the investment field. Above all it is essential to include in the plan only those projects which can be supplied with equipment. The state budget should be used to finance only a limited number of projects, roughly 20-25 billion rubles worth. The remaining construction projects should be financed out of republic and local budgets. We deem it appropriate to introduce penalties for failure to complete projects within established deadlines, with those penalties to be equal to five percent of the projects' cost each month until completion; for construction projects built on credit payments would be increased by five percent for each month of schedule overrun. This is a powerful economic measure. Similar penalties should also be extended to projects financed with enterprises' own funds, since uncompleted construction there drains off considerable physical resources which could be used in other places.

It is essential that we establish mandatory confirmation by the USSR Supreme Soviet and its commissions of the list of projects to be constructed with funds from the state budget; at the governmental level we must regulate the volume of loan funds which may be issued to finance construction.

A. V. Vlasov (commission member, CPSU Central Committee Politburo candidate member and RSFSR Council of Ministers chairman), **V. I. Reshetilov** (USSR minister of construction in the northern and western regions of the USSR), **Ye. A. Yeliseyev** (commission member and Kabardino-Balkar CPSU Obkom first secretary), **A. A. Malofeyev** (commission member and Minsk Belorussian CP Obkom first secretary), **K. V. Frolov** (commission member and USSR Academy of Sciences vice-president), and **A. M. Yakovlev** (chairman of the Construction and Building Materials Industry Workers' Trade Union Central Committee) also addressed the commission session and made a number of proposals regarding improvement of the economic mechanism and the investment field.

Based on its discussion the commission noted that in recent years there has been intensification of negative tendencies in capital construction and throughout the entire investment field. Continuing dispersion of resources, an excessively long investment cycle and a low rate of return on capital investment have become a hindrance to the realization of the party's programs for development of society's social base technical updating of the economy and restructuring overall. The economic

mechanism which currently exists in the area of capital construction is oriented toward gross indices, is expenditure-oriented in nature, has caused a chronic growth in the amount of uncompleted construction and has driven up prices for construction and planning work and exacerbated inflationary processes in the economy. However, development and implementation of measures to improve return on investments has been intolerably slow.

The commission deemed it necessary to report to the CPSU Central Committee Politburo concerning the situation in the capital construction sector and its proposals on basic orientations in restructuring of the economic mechanism in the investment field.

CPSU Central Committee Socioeconomic Department

CPSU Central Committee Legal Policy Commission Session

18050006f Moscow IZVESTIYA TsK KPSS in Russian No 6, Jun 89 pp 95-96—FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

[Text] On 16 May 1989 the CPSU Central Committee Legal Policy Commission met. The session was attended by 15 commission members as well as a number of senior officials from the CPSU Central Committee apparatus and heads of central law enforcement agencies, representatives from scientific institutions and a few practical workers from local areas, for a total of 45 present.

The commission discussion a report by **A. Ya. Sukarev**, USSR Procurator General and **V. V. Bakatin**, USSR minister of internal affairs, concerning the status of the struggle against crime. Measures to strengthen legal protection for members of law enforcement organs and other individuals who perform official or public duties in connection with the maintenance of law and order were considered.

In the course of that discussion serious concern was expressed regarding progress in the struggle against crime throughout our country. It was emphasized that the increase in crime has been accompanied by qualitative changes in crime in the direction of more dangerous incidents and greater audacity and aggressivity. Crime is assuming elements of organization and a "professional" orientation. More and more frequently criminal groups have begun collaborating with corrupt officials. Recidivist criminals have begun to operate more actively and more boldly, and their activities extend to the system of correctional labor institutions. Groups engaging in banditry are being revived. The "shadow" economy is adapting to the changing conditions and joining forces with criminal groups. Speculation and consumer fraud based on creation of artificial shortages are becoming more and more widespread. The operations of some cooperatives have assumed a greedy, speculative nature. As a result of a slackening of the struggle against drunkenness and alcoholism there has been a sharp increase in the number of individuals committing crimes under the influence of alcohol. Clashes between hostile groups of

teenagers and young people continue to create a tense situation in a number of major cities.

Furthermore, it was also noted that we are now seeing a process of politicization of crime and exploitation by the criminal world of the permissive atmosphere and violations of public discipline which are often created by extremist elements under the guise of slogans proclaiming democratization of public life. In this connection attention was directed to a growing tendency for lawbreakers to resist members of law enforcement organs attempting to perform their official duties.

During discussion of the aforementioned matters attention was directed to the fact that many party, soviet and law enforcement organs have been slow to restructure their own work in regard to strengthening of adherence to legality and law and order. Serious shortcomings persist in the operations of the USSR MVD, USSR Procuracy and USSR Ministry of Justice with regard to their efforts to combat crime, as a result of which shortcomings militia, procuracy and court organs at the local level have not functioned effectively enough.

Speakers stressed the need to take urgent measures to intensify the fight against crime. Commission members—V. V. Bakatin, minister of internal affairs, A. A. Logunov, Academy of Sciences vice-president, A. M. K. Brazauskas, Lithuanian CP Central Committee first secretary, and L. F. Bobykin, Sverdlovsk CPSU Obkom first secretary—made proposals concerning improved supply of equipment to law enforcement organs to aid them in their fight against crime. It was also proposed that militia units be formed with funds from local budgets.

At the same time it was emphasized that the serious shortcomings in efforts to strengthen law and order and in the operations of law enforcement organs are also caused by substantial failings in the formation of public legal culture and provision of an ideological background for efforts to improve compliance with the law. In this connection opinions were expressed concerning ways of making public legal education more effective. A proposal was made to start a special program on Central Television which would cover the work of law enforcement organs, practical application of new legislation and law enforcement cases from various regions of the country. The CPSU Central Committee State and Legal Department and the CPSU Central Committee Ideological Department have drawn up appropriate recommendations on this matter which will be submitted for consideration by the CPSU Central Committee.

In his speech A. Ya. Sukharev, USSR Procurator General, commented on the serious lag in the field of social crime prevention and a sharp decline in the role played by the public and enthusiasts' organizations in efforts to strengthen law and order. In this connection he expressed support for a proposal that a Law on Crime Prevention be prepared, as well as his approval of the practice of establishing workers' units for assistance to

the militia; he also pointed out the need to step up work by people's volunteer militia and other volunteer public organizations.

V. A. Zatvornitskiy, complex brigade leader, and I. V. Sorokin, senior investigative chief of operations and USSR people's deputy, proposed that laws be passed which would strengthen penalties for violations committed against individuals performing official law enforcement duties or their civic duty in regard to the protection of law and order and citizens' rights. It was noted that the draft standardizing acts on this matter presented to the commission will require further editing in order to provide legal protection for the aforementioned individuals. It was recommended that the fullest possible use be made of practical experience with legal protection of law enforcement services in foreign countries.

In consideration of this discussion the commission approved resolutions concerning the drafting of a nationwide program of anti-crime measures.

The CPSU Central Committee State and Legal Department was instructed to do additional work in conjunction with the appropriate agencies and scientific institutions on measures to strengthen legal protection for members of law enforcement agencies and other individuals performing their official duties or civic duty in order to preserve public order and citizens' rights and to submit those measures for consideration by established procedures.

V. Chebrikov, 28 May 1989

IN THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE PARTY CONTROL COMMITTEE

On the Work of the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee (Report for May 1989)

18050006g Moscow IZVESTIYA TsK KPSS in Russian
No 6, Jun 89 pp 97-100—FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

[Text] In May 1989 the Party Control Committee held six sessions, reviewing 91 appeals and statements in regard to party personnel matters. The results of an inspection of work by communist administrators in Karaganda Oblast in regard to rural social development were considered. In addition materials from three inspections were sent to the Zhitomir and Cherkassy Ukrainian CP obkoms, the USSR Ministry of the Shipbuilding Industry Party Committee and the Ukrainian SSR Procuracy so that appropriate measures could be taken.

Monitoring of Compliance With Party Decisions

As is well known, the March 1989 CPSU Central Committee Plenum adopted a number of fundamental measures aimed at solving the food problem. One priority in this regard is acceleration of social development in rural areas. However, inspections indicate that many local

administrators still underrate the political importance of this task and are not devoting sufficient attention to it. For example, serious shortcomings in rural social development have been discovered in Karaganda Oblast.

In the oblast's rural rayons there is a severe housing shortage, and a significant portion of existing housing is in a dilapidated or seriously unsound conditions. A total of 11,000 families are on waiting lists to receive better housing. Two-thirds of all schools, one club or kindergarten in every two and virtually all medical facilities are located in non-standard, improvised structures.

On farms and at agroindustrial enterprises there are over 10,000 workplaces which do not conform to health and safety standards. Many livestock farms have not provided the most basic of proper working and living conditions for their workers; there are no changing rooms, medical aid stations or women's personal hygiene rooms, nor are hot meals made available. At processing plants between 34 and 66 percent of all workers are employed in manual labor.

This lag in the social realm is causing an exodus of population from rural areas, especially from farms located in remote rayons. The oblast's sovkhozes have a need for over 4,000 equipment operators and livestock workers. Naturally all these things are also having an effect on efforts to solve the food problem using local resources.

Oblast administrators are taking an uncritical stance on the situation in this sector and have not taken effective measures to speed up rural social development. Virtually no changes are taking place in investment policy. During the first three years of the current five-year plan the percentage of capital investment funds spent on the social realm in rural areas for the oblast as a whole increased by only three percent as compared to the preceding five-year plan.

Rural construction capacities in the oblast are in a state of neglect. The sole general construction trust in the agroindustrial system, Karagandaselstroy-10, is unable to keep pace with its assigned tasks and is actually curtailing its construction volume. At the same time it is not carrying out CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers recommendations regarding utilization of 15 percent of city housing construction combines' capacities to build housing and social facilities in rural areas. Thus in 1988 Karagandazhilstroy built 4,500 square meters of housing in rural areas (1.9 percent of the housing construction combine's capacity), and in 1989 plans to build 6,500 square meters (2.4 percent).

Clearly inadequate is the help being rendered to rural areas by the collectives of industrial enterprises and construction organizations in cities and industrial centers. Many of them are completely uninvolved in this important work. Suffice it to say that in 1986-88 patron collectives built 8,600 square meters of housing in rural areas (five percent), a club for 200 and one kindergarten with space for 140 children.

Often oblispolkom leaders attempt to shift responsibility for development of facilities under their jurisdiction to the farms alone. Most construction in rural areas is done by the direct labor method. largely as a result of this, five-year plan goals for school construction have been met by only 38 percent, for kindergarten construction by 56 percent and club construction by 44 percent.

As inspection indicates, redevelopment of many villages is done without approved general plans, using buildings with unexpressive architecture built from outdated plans. Buildings with adjoining green space are seldom built. Due to a lack of municipal projects in construction plans 90 percent of homes are built without running water, septic systems or central heating, thus creating new problems.

The public's initiative is not receiving adequate support in housing construction. There is not a single rural housing construction cooperative in the oblast. There have been frequent cases of persons wishing to build additions being refused timely provision of loans, not finding land available and not being supplied with material resources on a priority basis. As a result the proportion of individual home building varies between five and seven percent of the total.

The Party Control Committee noted that I. U. Togaybayev, village oblispolkom chairman, and A. V. Isayev, his first deputy, deserve party penalties for their serious shortcomings in regard to development of their village's social infrastructure. However, in consideration of the fact that they have served only a short time in their present positions the decision was made to limit party action to warnings.

A. M. Ivanov, Karaganda Kazakh CP Obkom secretary, was taken severely to task for his undemanding attitude toward the communist administrators responsible for development of rural construction facilities. The committee noted his statement that the party obkom would make stricter demands of administrators in regard to efficient utilization of the oblast's entire construction complex to accelerate the rate of housing and sociocultural construction in rural areas.

In the Wake of Committee Inspections

One important aspect of the committee's work is monitoring of the way its own decisions are implemented. Reports and accounts received from local areas are carefully analyzed. If necessary repeated inspections are carried out. Decisions are no longer monitored only when concealed shortcomings have been eliminated and genuine improvement in a given situation is evident.

Thus in February 1988 the committee considered the matter of serious shortcomings in the work of leaders of party committees and local soviet ispolkoms in Yaroslavl Oblast to eradicate administrative-bureaucratic methods. An inspection conducted one year later indicated that the oblast's party and soviet organs had, in compliance with the committee's decision, taken a

number of concrete steps to improve their work style and methods. The focus of their organizational and political work has been shifted to an ever greater extent directly to primary party organizations and labor collectives.

The party obkom, gorkoms and raykoms have changed their approach to the preparation of resolutions submitted for consideration to organs of collective leadership. They have brought about a decrease of over 30 percent in the number of decisions passed. There has been a marked drop in the number of joint resolutions. A differentiated approach to the distribution of resolutions passed by party plenum and party committee bureaus to lower-level party organizations is observable. As a result the volume of documents handled by the party obkom was cut by 17 percent in 1988, and by 50 percent during the first quarter of the current year. Specifically, party gorkoms and raykoms were sent 39 percent fewer documents, letters, guidelines, memoranda on compliance with resolutions, work plans and instructions by obkom secretaries.

In 1988 for the first time scheduling for the conducting of interagency inspections by central and intraoblast control organizations was synchronized. This approach permitted a reduction by a factor of almost two in the number of inspections planned by oblast, city and rayon control organs.

Over the past 18 months the CPSU obkom, oblispolkom, party committee, gorispolkoms and rayispolkoms have begun to introduce widely the practice of information conferences, a "hotline," "open letter day," on-site meetings of oblast leaders with the oblast public. In a number of cities the local press regularly reports the time and location of these public meetings and the names of officials attending. All these things made it possible in 1988 to reduce citizen petitions to the party obkom by 23.7 percent and to the oblispolkom by 11.6 percent, and to reduce the number of repeated petitions by 48 percent and 12 percent, respectively. There has been a reduction in the number of times administrators were summoned to attend meetings. For example, the director of Chayka PO in Uglich received invitations to 222 sessions in 1987, but only nine in 1988; the director of Lakokraska PO in Yaroslavl received 717 and three, respectively.

However, the inspection also indicated that some CPSU gorkoms and raykoms have not been working diligently enough to master political leadership methods, are attempting to resolve current problems not by assigning greater responsibility to administrators and communists for their assigned tasks but instead by usurping the authority of soviet and economic organs. In some party committees, a number of soviet, trade union and Komsomol organs and economic organizations the volume of documents handled is decreasing too slowly.

In January 1989 the party obkom and oblispolkom once again discussed the status of their compliance with the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee decision on this matter, directing the serious attention of

party committees and soviet, economic and administrative organs to existing shortcomings. There was discussion concerning further reduction of paperwork in those organs' apparatus and in other organizations under their jurisdiction and concerning more decisive efforts to overcome administrative-bureaucratic leadership methods.

Appeals

In May the committee heard 66 appeals at its sessions.

Analysis of disciplinary practice indicates that a number of party organizations are guilty of bias when considering communists' personal cases. This is confirmed by investigation into an appeal submitted by R. I. Mukhametshin, former deputy security department chief at the Izhevsk Petroleum Machine Building Plant.

True, not all the incidents of alleged dereliction of duty on the part of his immediate supervisor which were reported to various authorities by R. I. Mukhametshin were subsequently confirmed. True, he did recruit other employees who had in some way been offended previously to help write complaints, thereby violating party ethics. And that is what should have been pointed out to him when the time came to find a party penalty appropriate to this communist's misdeed. But instead they opted for an extreme measure of punishment, choosing to recall, as is quite often the case, all his previous sins, including those involving his work record.

Noting that the plant's administration and party committee had demonstrated bias in regard to R. I. Mukhametshin, the Party Control Committee restored his CPSU membership. He was given a severe reprimand and a corresponding notation made in his party membership record on account of improper behavior.

The committee reached a positive decision in 25 cases: 17 comrades were reinstated as party members, four had penalties against them rescinded and four had their penalties reduced. In 20 cases the committee confirmed decisions by party organs to expel individuals from the CPSU. The highest measure of party censure was applied to 11 communists on account of abuses of their official positions and drunkenness.

Review of the appeals confirms the fact that party organizations still contain quite a few individuals who are members of the CPSU in name only. These individuals frequently forget our ideals and undermine respect for the party through their undignified behavior. In such cases the only recourse is to support the decisive measures taken by communists to purge the party ranks.

Consider for instance the personal case of V. A. Yusupov, former dean of the Kalinin State University Law Department. With the help of friends he got permission for his son, without any justification whatsoever, to serve his active military service in a sports club. Furthermore, during that same period of time Yusupov Jr., with help from his father, also managed to complete

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by correspondence two years in the Kalinin University Law Department, where V. A. Yusupov was dean. What did he expect when he appealed to the Party Control Committee? Perhaps that his misdeeds would be regarded as coincidental, or as errors committed out of ignorance? Yet V. A. Yusupov must have been aware of what he was doing when he attempted to ensure an easy life for his son.

One of a communist's charter obligations is to uphold the principle of social justice which is inherent in socialism, to hold the interests of society higher than personal interests, and to demonstrate modesty and decency. Unfortunately some party members interpret this obligation in a very distinctive way, making exceptions in their own cases.

In 1987 an improved-plan 129-apartment building in the center of Kuybyshev was readied for occupancy; 65 of these apartments were given to party obkom, oblispolkom and gorispolkom personnel and heads of a number of enterprises, organizations and institutions. Many of them received their housing illegally. These violations, committed in spite of an acute housing shortage in the city, outraged people, and rightly so. The situation was further exacerbated by the fact that one oblast leader had attempted to deceive the public. At a meeting with journalists he stated that 65 percent of the apartments in the building had been given to blue-collar workers and only one was occupied by a party worker.

At the present time 11 out of 15 illegally obtained apartments have been vacated. These apartments have been turned over to blue-collar workers and Great Patriotic War invalids. Cases involving the remaining apartments are still pending in court.

The Kuybyshev CPSU Obkom Buro has severely punished the guilty parties. G. V. Zadykhin, Kuybyshev Gorispolkom chairman, and P. V. Aistov, his first deputy, have been relieved of their official duties. Administrators have been urged to vacate their illegally obtained apartments.

However, not all comrades have heeded this recommendation, placing their personal interests above those of society. The Party Control Committee confirmed a decision by the Kuybyshev Party Obkom Buro to expel S. N. Kuznetsov, former oblispolkom secretary, and Yu. N. Motkov, former obkom instructor, from the party on account of their improper behavior in this case.

Work continued on party rehabilitation of persons unjustly repressed in the 1930's, 1940's and early 1950's.

During the month of May the committee received 4,200 letters from working people. Necessary steps were taken in regard to each of them.

CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee

IN THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE COMMISSION FOR ADDITIONAL STUDY OF MATERIALS PERTAINING TO THE REPRESSIONS OF THE 1930'S, 1940'S AND EARLY 1950'S

**Minutes No 5 From a Session of the CPSU
Central Committee Commission for Additional
Study of Materials Pertaining to the Repressions
of the 1930's, 1940's and Early 1950's (27 July
1988)**

18050006h Moscow IZVESTIYA TsK KPSS in Russian
No 6, Jun 89 pp 101-115—FOR OFFICIAL USE
ONLY

[Text] (At its 27 July 1988 session this CPSU Central Committee Politburo commission considered materials pertaining to the legal rehabilitation of individuals convicted in the cases of the so-called "Union of Marxist-Leninists," the "Moscow center," the "anti-Soviet united Trotskyite-Zinovievite center" and the "parallel anti-Soviet Trotskyite center." The commission also concurred with a decision by a USSR Supreme Court plenum rehabilitating L. B. Kamenev in the so-called "Kremlin case.")

Materials on all matters considered by this Central Committee Politburo commission will be published in this journal. In the current issue we present the minutes of the commission's fifth session, as well as a report from the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee and the CPSU Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism concerning the case of the so-called "Union of Marxist-Leninists.")

**Minutes No 5 of the CPSU Central Committee
Commission for Additional Study of Materials
Pertaining to the Repressions of the 1930's, 1940's and
Early 1950's (27 July 1988)**

Commission members attending: M. S. Solomentsev, A. N. Yakovlev, P. N. Demichev, G. P. Razumovskiy, A. I. Lukyanov, V. I. Boldin and G. L. Smirnov

Commission secretary: N. I. Savinkin

Invited guests: O. V. Soroka, USSR deputy procurator general; S. I. Gusev, USSR Supreme Court first deputy chairman; M. A. Marov, USSR Supreme Court Military Board deputy chairman

Working group members: S. D. Mogilat, V. P. Pirozhkov, A. A. Solovyev, V. I. Andreyev and V. K. Vinogradov

I. Heard: A report from the USSR Supreme Court (delivered by Comrade Gusev) concerning the results of a review of protests by the USSR procurator general in regard to the cases of the so-called "Union of Marxist-Leninists," the "Moscow center," the "anti-Soviet united Trotskyite-Zinovievite center" and the "parallel anti-Soviet Trotskyite center."

In the case of the so-called "Union of Marxist-Leninists" the USSR Supreme Court in July 1988 rescinded resolutions adopted by the OGPU Board in 1932-33 in regard to M. N. Ryutin, M. S. Ivanov, V. N. Kayurov, L. B. Kamenev, G. Ye. Zinoviev, P. A. Galkin, V. I. Demidov, P. P. Fedorov, G. Ye. Rokhkin, P. M. Zamyatin, V. L. Lisyanskaya, V. B. Gorelov, A. N. Slepko, D. P. Maretskiy, B. M. Ptashnyy, Ya. E. Sten, Ya. V. Staroselskiy, B. A. Karnaukh, S. V. Tokarev, A. V. Kayurov, P. A. Silchenko, I. N. Borgior, A. S. Zeldin, A. I. Kozlovskiy and M. Ye. Ravich-Cherkasskiy and closed their cases due to a lack of evidence that any crimes were committed.

M. I. Mebel, N. I. Kolokolov, P. G. Petrovskiy, I. S. Rozengauz and N. I. Vasilyev had all received legal rehabilitation previously. The same USSR Supreme Court resolution also rescinded a USSR Supreme Court Military Board resolution from 1937 against M. N. Ryutin, G. Ye. Rokhkin and P. M. Zamyatin and closed their cases to a lack of evidence that any crimes had been committed.

In regard to the case of the so-called "Moscow center" a USSR Supreme Court Plenum repealed the sentences of G. Ye. Zinoviev, A. M. Gertik, A. S. Kuklin, B. N. Sakhov, G. Ye. Yevdokimov, I. P. Bakayev, Ya. V. Sharov, I. S. Gorshenin, N. A. Tsarkov, S. M. Gessen, I. I. Tarasov, L. Ya. Fayvilovich, A. V. Gertsberg, A. I. Anishev, A. V. Perimov, L. B. Kamenev, B. L. Bravo and A. F. Bashkirov and closed their cases due to a lack of evidence that any of their actions constituted a crime.

G. F. Fedorov was rehabilitated in 1965.

The USSR Supreme Court plenum concurred with a protest by the USSR Procurator General in regard to the case of the so-called "anti-Soviet united Trotskyite-Zinovievite center" and repealed a sentence by the USSR Supreme Court Military Board and closed for lack of evidence the cases against G. Ye. Zinoviev, L. B. Kamenev, G. Ye. Yevdokimov, I. P. Bakayev, S. V. Mrachkovskiy, V. A. Ter-Vaganyan, I. N. Smirnov, Ye. A. Dreytser, I. I. Reyngold, R. V. Pikel, E. S. Goltsman, Frits-David (I.-D. I. Kruglyanskiy), V. P. Olberg, K. B. Berman-Yurin, M. I. Lure and N. L. Lure.

By a resolution of the USSR Supreme Court L. B. Kamenev was rehabilitated in the so-called "Kremlin case," in which he was convicted on 27 July 1935.

In regard to the case of the so-called "parallel anti-Soviet Trotskyite center" the USSR Supreme Court repealed Military Board sentences against Yu. L. Pyatakov, Ya. A. Livshits, Ya. N. Drobnis, S. A. Rataychak, A. A. Shestov, G. Ya. Sokolnikov, K. B. Radek and V. V. Arnold and closed their cases due to a lack of evidence that their actions constituted a crime. Receiving legal rehabilitation previously were L. P. Serebryakov, N. I. Muralov, M. S. Boguslavskiy, I. A. Knyazev, B. O. Norkin, I. D. Turok, G. Ye. Pushin, I. I. Grashe and M. S. Stroilov.

Speakers: Comrades Solomentsev, Yakovlev, Demichev, Razumovskiy, Lukyanov, Boldin, Smirnov and Savinkin

Resolved: To note the USSR Supreme Court report on the results of its consideration of the aforementioned cases and rehabilitation of illegally repressed individuals.

To concur with the draft text of a press release from this CPSU Central Committee Politburo Commission on the results of USSR Supreme Court consideration of protests by the USSR Procurator General regarding the cases of the so-called "Union of Marxist-Leninists," the "Moscow center," the "anti-Soviet united Trotskyite-Zinovievite center" and the "parallel anti-Soviet Trotskyite center."

II. Heard: Concerning a draft plan for the commission's work in the second half of 1988.

Speakers: Comrades Solomentsev, Yakovlev, Lukyanov, Razumovskiy, Boldin, Demichev and Smirnov

Resolved: To approve the commission's work plan for the second half of 1988, taking comments made at this session into consideration.

M. Solomentsev, Commission Chairman N. Savinkin, Commission Secretary

On the Case of the So-Called "Union of Marxist-Leninists"

OGPU Board resolutions adopted in 1932-33 convicted without trial and sentenced to various punishments M. N. Ryutin, M. S. Ivanov, V. N. Kayurov, L. B. Kamenev, G. Ye. Zinoviev, P. A. Galkin, V. I. Demidov, P. P. Fedorov, G. Ye. Rokhkin, P. M. Zamyatin, N. I. Kolokolov, V. L. Lisyanskaya, V. B. Gorelov, A. N. Slepko, D. P. Maretskiy, N. I. Vasilyev, B. M. Ptashnyy, Ya. E. Sten, P. G. Petrovskiy, I. S. Rozengauz, Ya. V. Staroselskiy, B. A. Karnaukh, S. V. Tokarev, M. I. Mebel, A. V. Kayurov, P. A. Silchenko, I. N. Borgior, A. S. Zeldin, A. I. Kozlovskiy and M. Ye. Ravich-Cherkasskiy.

All were accused of creating a counterrevolutionary organizations called the "Union of Marxist-Leninists" with the intent of opposing the Soviet system and restoring capitalism in the USSR, and of preparing a programmatic document for that organization and actively undertaking anti-Soviet actions.

The facts in the "case" are as follows.

At the beginning of 1932 M. N. Ryutin, former secretary of Krasnopresnenskiy All-Union CP (Bolshevik) [VKP(b)] Raykom, Moscow, who had been expelled from the party by the Central Control Commission in 1930, according to that commission's decision "for propagandizing rightist opportunistic views" and who later worked as an economist for Soyuzelektro, and two old Bolsheviks—V. N. Kayurov, party member since 1900 and head of the Central State Archives Planning Group,

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and M. S. Ivanov, party member since 1906 and head of a working group under the RSFSR People's Commissariat for Workers' and Peasants' Inspection—concerned by the continued spread of flagrant violations of intraparty democracy and the permeation of party and state affairs by administrative-command methods, decided to express their views on the situation in writing.

M. N. Ryutin was the one who actually did so. In March 1932 he prepared drafts of two documents entitled "Stalin and the Crisis of Proletarian Dictatorship" and an appeal entitled "To All Members of the VKP(b)." M. S. Ivanov, V. N. Kayurov and his son A. V. Kayurov, a party member since 1914 and senior inspector under the USSR People's Commissariat for Supply, assisted him in the editing of these materials.

On 21 August 1932 in the village of Golovino outside Moscow a meeting was held at the private apartment of party member P. A. Silchenko, an electrician (in Silchenko's absence). attending the meeting were Martemyan Nikitich Ryutin, Mikhail Semenovich Ivanov, Vasily Nikolayevich Kayurov, Aleksandr Vasilyevich Kayurov and his colleague Nikolay Ivanovich Kolokolov, Nataliya Pavlovna Kayurova (secretary of the Soyuzmoloko Board), Pavel Andrianovich Galkin (director of Moscow Printing Plant #26), Petr Mikhaylovich Zamyatin (an inspector for the Narpit Trust in Krasnopresnenskiy Rayon), Pavel Platonovich Fedorov (a professor at the Moscow Peat Institute), Vasily Ivanovich Demidov (chief of the administrative-financial department of the Moscow Motor Vehicle Plant), Grigoriy Yevseyevich Rokhkin (scientific associate at the State Publishing House Association), Viktor Borisovich Gorelov (director of the Cinematography Equipment Trust, All-Union Association of Cinematographic Enterprises), Boris Mikhaylovich Ptashnyy (administration head under the UkSSR People's Commissariat for Supply), Nikolay Ivanovich Vasilyev from Kharkov (administrator of the Giprokoks Association) and Semen Vasilyevich Tokarev (deputy administrator of the Giprokoks Association).

Those attending the meeting discussed the following matters:

1. A report by M. N. Ryutin entitled "Crisis of the Party and Proletarian Dictatorship."
2. Approval of an organizational platform and organization name.
3. Organizational matters (elections).

Participants in the meeting based their organization on the platform and appeal to all party members put forward by M. N. Ryutin. The decision was made to submit the documents thus approved for final editing by a committee elected at that meeting, with the following membership: M. S. Ivanov, secretary, and V. N. Kayurov, P. A. Galkin, V. I. Demidov and P. P. Fedorov, committee members. As his own request M. N. Ryutin was not made a member of the committee, as a

non-party member and for reasons of a conspiratorial nature. It was decided to call the newly-established organization the "Union of Marxist-Leninists."

At the committee's second session, held at M. S. Ivanov's apartment, the decision was made to disseminate the "union's" programmatic documents among party members through personal contacts and the mail in order to determine their position on the materials in question. Thus soon thereafter G. Ye. Zinoviev, L. B. Kamenev, Ya. E. Sten¹, N. A. Uglanov (a former Moscow Party Committee secretary² and a number of other individuals in Moscow and Kharkov had been shown the documents. All in all the committee only had a few sessions, at which results of dissemination of the "union's" materials were discussed.

Analysis of the "platform" and so-called manifesto of the "Union of Marxist-Leninists"—the appeal "To All Members of the VKP(b)"—indicates that they contained an assessment of the country's serious economic difficulties resulting from the Stalinist leadership's excesses in its efforts to speed up the rate of industrialization and universal collectivization, accompanied by violence against the peasantry, spoke of the need for democratization of intraparty and state affairs, restoration of Leninist standards and principles and renunciation of forced collectivization and discussed spontaneous displays of dissatisfaction and peasant uprisings (in the Northern Caucasus, Transcaucasia, Siberia and the Ukraine) and workers' uprisings in several industrial centers (Ivanovo and Vichuga), arriving at the conclusion that fundamental changes could scarcely be expected so long as I. V. Stalin remained head of the VKP(b) Central Committee. They also contained discussion of phenomena such as increasing bureaucracy, distortion of the meaning of proletarian dictatorship, downgrading of the role played by soviets, trade unions and the Komsomol. In order to restore the dictatorship of the proletariat and Leninist principles in the party's life and work, increase the activism of party members and bring the country out of its dire economic situation it was proposed that organizational changes be made in the party leadership and I. V. Stalin removed from the post of general secretary. In the documents I. V. Stalin was described as "a great agent, a provocateur, a destroyer of the party," "the grave digger of revolution in Russia."

The appeal entitled "To All Members of the VKP(b)" stated, among other things: "Stalin and his clique have led the party and proletarian dictatorship into an unprecedented dead end, where they are now experiencing a mortally dangerous crisis. Using deception, slander and cunning against party members, with the aid of unbelievable acts of violence and terror, under the guise of struggle to uphold the purity of Bolshevik principles and party unity, and using a powerful centralized party apparatus as his base, Stalin has over the past five years cut off and eliminated from positions of leadership all the very best, genuinely Bolshevik cadres in the party and has established his personal dictatorship within the VKP(b) and throughout the country as a whole, breaking

with Leninism and taking a path of the most unbridled adventurism and uncontrolled personal tyranny, thereby bringing the Soviet Union to the brink of the abyss."

"...The adventuristic rate of industrialization, which has resulted in a colossal decline in blue- and white-collar workers' real salaries, unbearable open and concealed taxation, inflation and a drop in the value of the chervonets; adventuristic collectivization with the aid of unbelievable acts of violence and terror, destruction of the kulak class which is in fact directed primarily against the middle and poor village masses and, finally expropriation of villages by means of all sorts of levies and forced procurement, have plunged the country into a most severe crisis, caused impoverishment of the masses and hunger both in rural areas and in the cities... All personal interest in maintaining agriculture has been killed, labor is kept going through naked force and repressions and the forcibly established kolkhozes are falling apart. Everyone who is young and healthy is fleeing the villages; millions of people torn away from their productive labor are wandering about the country, overpopulating the cities, while those who remain in the villages starve... The future holds prospects of further impoverishment and village abandonment and decay..."

"The entire country has been forced into a muzzle; lack of rights, tyranny, violence and constant threats hand over the head of every worker and peasant. Every semblance of revolutionary law and order is being flouted!... Stalin and his clique have shamelessly distorted and falsified the teachings of Marx and Lenin. Science, literature and the arts have been reduced to nothing more than lackeys and buttresses of the Stalinist leadership. The struggle against opportunism has been debased and transformed into a caricature, into a tool of slander and terror against independently thinking party members. The rights guaranteed by the Party Charter have been usurped by a tiny handful of unprincipled politicians. Democratic centralism has been replaced by the leader's personal discretion, collective leadership by a system of trusted individuals."

"The press, a powerful means of communist education and a tool of Leninism, has in the hands of Stalin and his clique become a monstrous factory of lies, deception and terror directed against the masses. Lies and slander, executions and arrests... they will employ any and all means to protect their dominance in the party and the country, because they regard these as their personal fiefdom."

"There is no single bold and brilliant provocateur scheming to destroy proletarian dictatorship or discredit Leninism who could have dreamed up any better means than the leadership of Stalin and his clique..."

On 14 September 1932 the VKP(b) Central Committee received a statement from VKP(b) members N. K. Kuzmin³ and N. A. Storozhenko,⁴ in which it was reported that they had received for their information an appeal from A. V. Kayurov entitled "To All VKP(b)

Members." The text of this appeal was appended. On 15 September M. S. Ivanov, V. N. Kayurov, A. V. Kayurov, V. B. Gorelov and later M. N. Ryutin and other individuals who had had any part in the activities or materials of the "union" were arrested by OGPU organs.

On 27 September 1932 the Central Control Commission Presidium decided to expel from the party 14 individuals identified at that time as participants in the organization of the "Union of Marxist-Leninists." In a Central Control Commission resolution (which was signed by Ye. M. Yaroslavskiy, Central Control Commission Party Board secretary) the following task was posed: "The Central Control Commission instructs the OGPU to expose as yet undiscovered members of the Ryutin counterrevolutionary group, expose the behind-the-scenes individuals who inspired this groups and apply to all these White Guard criminals who do not wish to confess completely and report the whole truth about the group and its sponsors the full severity of revolutionary law." In the wake of this directive the OGPU stepped up its work even further. The circle of persons indicted widened. Within a few days after the Central Control Commission's decision the matter of M. N. Ryutin's group was submitted to a joint VKP(b) Central Committee and Central Control Commission plenum.

On 2 October 1932 the joint VKP(b) Central Committee and Central Control Commission plenum adopted a resolution signed by I. V. Stalin: "1. To approve the Central Control Commission resolution concerning expulsion from the party of members of the Ryutin-Slepko⁵ counterrevolutionary group calling itself the 'Union of Marxist-Leninists'. 2. This VKP(b) Central Committee and Central Control Commission Presidium plenum instructs the Politburo and the Central Control Commission Presidium to take the most decisive measures to bring about full elimination of the activities of the Ryutin-Slepko White Guard counterrevolutionary group, their sponsors and their protectors. 3. This VKP(b) Central Committee and Central Control Commission Presidium plenum deems it essential that all those who knew of the existence of this counterrevolutionary group or who privately read its documents and failed to report this to the Central Control Commission and the VKP(b) Central Committee be expelled from the party immediately for protecting enemies of the party and the working class." Many communists were repressed as a result of this directive.

A few days later, on 9 October 1932, the VKP(b) Central Control Commission Presidium, convened once again under the chairmanship of Ya. E. Rudzutak, adopted a resolution ordering the expulsion from the party of 24 members as "members and accomplices of the Ryutin-Ivanov-Galkin counterrevolutionary group and for being decadent enemies of communism and the Soviet system, as traitors to the party and the working class who have attempted to establish a bourgeois kulak organization aimed at restoring capitalism and, specifically, the kulak class in the USSR under the guise of a false flag of

'Marxism-Leninism'." This resolution was published in PRAVDA on 11 October 1932.

At the Central Control Commission session the floor was turned over to G. Ye. Zinoviev and L. B. Kamenev, who stood accused of knowing about the existence of this organization and being familiar with its documents yet not reporting this to the VKP(b) Central Committee or the VKP(b) Central Control Commission. Despite the fact that G. Ye. Zinoviev and L. B. Kamenev expressed "regret for their actions" they were included with the others expelled from the party. Later P. A. Silchenko and A. I. Kozlovskiy⁶ were expelled from the party on the same grounds.

After expelling the participants in the "Union of Marxist-Leninists" from the party, the VKP(b) Central Control Commission placed their subsequent fate in the hands of the OGPU. On 11 October 1932 the OGPU Board sentenced all of them to various terms in prison, camps or exile. The longest sentence was given to M. N. Ryutin. He was sentenced to 10 years in prison. In 1932-33 a total of 30 individuals were sentenced in the case of the so-called "Union of Marxist-Leninists."

Subsequently a portion of those already convicted were given more severe sentences on the basis of the very same accusations; these individuals included M. N. Ryutin, M. S. Ivanov, G. Ye. Rokhki, Ya. E. Sten, M. I. Mebel, P. M. Zamyatin, A. V. Kayurov, I. N. Borgior, D. P. Maretskiy and P. G. Petrovskiy, who were sentenced to the highest penalty, execution by firing squad. The majority of the rest had their prison sentences extended. Some had their sentences reviewed and raised two and three times.

At the present time the USSR Supreme Court has removed the accusations of criminal activity from all of them and closed their cases due to lack of evidence that any crimes were committed. As stated in the USSR Supreme Court's decision, the way this case was investigated was in flagrant violation of the law. Investigation was begun without a formal criminal case being filed, and no charges whatsoever were filed against G. Ye. Zinoviev and L. B. Kamenev. Those indicted in the case were deprived of the opportunity to defend themselves against the accusation made against them and were repressed by a non-judicial organ without verification of the materials gathered in the course of the preliminary investigation.

At the time that the activities of the "Union of Marxist-Leninists" were halted it was in its organizational stage and was drafting its programmatic documents; its members undertook no practical action aimed at carrying out the principles contained in those documents, with the exception of disseminating its "manifesto" and political program. Nor were the members of the "union" members of any anti-Soviet organizations or associations.

The preliminary investigative organs and the OGPU Board did not possess the originals of the "manifesto" or "platform" of the "Union of Marxist-Leninists," only

copies seized during the arrests and a search of P. A. Silchenko's apartment on 15 October 1932. The copies of those documents which have survived are copies of copies made by the OGPU at the time, and whether they are identical with the lost originals is in doubt; the documents were passed from hand to hand in the Moscow and Kharkov party organizations and were copied, amended and edited. These changes included obvious borrowings from counterrevolutionary appeals, anti-Soviet handbills and White emigre documents, which was hardly M. N. Ryutin's inclination. As early as September 1930, defending himself against a false denunciation, he had written the following to the VKP(b) Central Control Commission: "I did not write a single word about Thermidor or strikes. That is a complete fabrication from one end to the other. I am not a Trotskyite nor an Ustryalovite,⁷ and it is nonsense to say that I am." Yet there was a great deal of such "nonsense" in the documents; someone wanted to make the group appear to be a gigantic conspiracy within the party and the state encompassing millions of Soviets. This platform or mere familiarity with it were used to impute guilt against many people even in 1937-38, including N. I. Bukharin.

As for the political ideas and theoretical views set forth in the programmatic documents of the so-called "Union of Marxist-Leninists," it should be noted that they were in the nature of a discussion and did not contain any appeals urging people to overthrow, undermine or weaken the Soviet system. These views undoubtedly differed from the practices supported and lauded by official propaganda, yet in no way contradicted Marxist-Leninist concepts of socialism.

An idea of the documents' contents is provided by an outline of the platform written by M. N. Ryutin during the investigation and used in the case, consisting of the following sections: 1. Marx and the role of the individual in history; 2. Stalin as an unprincipled political intriguer; 3. Stalin as sophist; 4. Stalin as leader; 5. Stalin as theoretician; 6. The class struggle and Marxism; 7. Simple and expanded reproduction and Marxism-Leninism; 8. On the building of a socialist society; 9. Leninism and the struggle against opportunism; 10. Lesson from intraparty struggle in light of recent years; 11. Evaluation of the views of proletarian dictatorship on the present state of affairs in the USSR; 12. The Comintern crisis; 13. The crisis of proletarian dictatorship (economic crisis, the crisis of the party and the crisis of the soviets and the reins of proletarian dictatorship).

To this it must be added that the situation of harsh persecution of dissidents which existed in the party and the country at that time did not permit, as had been possible while V. I. Lenin was alive, open discussion of one's opinion if it differed from the opinion of the party leadership and of I. V. Stalin in particular. V. N. Kayurov and M. S. Ivanov intended to send a letter setting forth their views on the situation in the party and

the country to the VKP(b) Central Committee. But later they decided against this, realizing the consequences such an action could bring.

V. N. Kayurov and M. N. Ryutin stand out among the organizers of the "Union of Marxist-Leninists." V. N. Kayurov was a member of the Bolshevik old guard and an active participant in party work; prior to the revolution he headed a Bolshevik organization at the Erikson Plant in St. Petersburg and following the February Revolution served as chairman of the Vyborg Rayon Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies. During the events of July 1917 he was among those who concealed V. I. Lenin from the storm of reaction. On 6 July 1917 V. I. Lenin stayed at V. N. Kayurov's apartment in the city's Vyborgskaya Storona district. After the October Revolution he fought actively to establish Soviet power and enjoyed V. I. Lenin's special confidence, receiving important assignments from him. It was Kayurov who in July 1919 carried V. I. Lenin's letter "To the Workers of Petrograd" from Moscow. In 1921-24 V. N. Kayurov worked in Siberia and in the Urals, later working at the Grozny Oil Academy and working in 1925-30 as a consultant for the RSFSR People's Commissariat for Workers' and Peasants' Inspection. In 1930-32 he was head of a Central State Archives group. He was respected within the party.

M. N. Ryutin was also a well-known figure in the party. He joined Lenin's party in 1914 and participated in the revolutionary movement. After graduating from a teachers' seminary he became a public school teacher. In 1917 he took charge of the Kharbin Soviet of Workers and Soldiers' Deputies, took part in the establishment of Soviet power in the eastern portion of the country, commanded troops in Irkutsk Okrug, was commander of partisan units in the Lake Baikal region and served as chairman of Irkutsk Guberniya Party Committee and delegate to the 10th Russian CP (Bolshevik) Congress. Later he held positions of responsibility in Eastern and Western Siberia and Dagestan. In 1924-28 he worked as secretary of the Moscow Party Committee's Krasnopresnenskiy Raykom and participated in the struggle against the "new" opposition and the Trotskyite-Zinovievite opposition. He was elected party Central Committee candidate member at the 15th VKP(b) Congress in 1927.

In the sharp intraparty polemics which erupted after the congress between a group led by I. V. Stalin, on the one side, and by N. I. Bukharin, A. I. Rykov and M. P. Tomskiy, on the other, concerning the ways and means of building socialism in our country and developing Soviet villages, M. N. Ryutin gave de facto support to N. I. Bukharin's stance on the use of extreme measures against the peasantry. However, in a letter to the Central Control Commission dated 21 September 1930 he also commented that "I was never completely on the side of Bukharin's group. I never shared the theoretical views of Bukharin and his followers in the field of historical materialism (the theory of equilibrium, etc.), and I must

say the same thing about the theory of organized capitalism, the theory of 'peaceful transformation of kulak cooperative nests' into socialism and the theory of dissemination of labor as well."

After an intense conversation with I. V. Stalin in 1928 M. N. Ryutin was accused of having a conciliatory attitude toward the rightists; this was mentioned in a statement by a group of raykom members and raykom buro members presented to the Moscow Party Committee on 15 October 1928.

On 16 October 1928 the joint session of the Central Committee Secretariat and the Moscow VKP(b) Committee Secretariat attended by VKP(b) Central Control Commission chairman G. K. Ordzhonikidze and Moscow Control Commission Presidium members decided to remove M. N. Ryutin from his post in the Moscow Party Organization. On the same day the same decision was made by the Moscow Party Committee Buro. A joint Moscow Party Committee and Moscow Party Control Commission meeting heard a report on the situation in the Moscow Party Organization on 18-19 October 1928 and relieved M. N. Ryutin of his duties as Krasnopresnenskiy Party Raykom secretary and Moscow Party Committee Buro member.

The resolution gave no reason for this dismissal. But, as stated in a report to N. A. Uglanov, Moscow Party Committee secretary, the complaints against M. N. Ryutin were that "he committed an error during debate at an open session of the Krasnopresnenskiy Raykom Buro which for him as a Central Committee candidate member was impermissible and which undermined his dignity and undermined leading comrades. In a debate on party leadership at a session of the raykom buro Ryutin, arguing against tendencies toward further removal of leading comrades from the leadership, said: 'Why bring Comrade Stalin into this? We know that Comrade Stalin has his faults, about which Comrade Lenin spoke.' This should not have been said because previously the Trotskyites had said the same thing to us."

"Secondly, in the resolution which he presented to the aktiv no mention is made of struggle against appeasement. In terms of theoretical background he is the most highly qualified party member of all our raykom secretaries. Naturally this error should be held against him to a greater extent than against someone else."

Addressing the plenum, M. N. Ryutin acknowledged that these complaints were justified and listed among his own political miscalculations another error, i.e. that he had taken a so-called "buffer" stance during the Central Committee's discussion of the rightist deviation. M. N. Ryutin said: "The Central Committee debates prompted concern for the cohesion of the Central Committee's organ of leadership on the part of us, of many members of the Moscow Committee Buro. And I took the position that the low-level party organizations and rayon party organizations should exert an appropriate influence on

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leading comrades with a view toward eliminating the dissension and friction which had arisen in their ranks. Now I am forced to admit that our experience has shown that a buffer does not justify its role, not only when it is created between those arguing but also when it is introduced from without. This created certain alienation, certain exclusiveness in the Moscow Party Organization, or more precisely, between a group of workers in the Moscow organization and the Central Committee." On the second day of the plenum session I. V. Stalin unexpectedly arrived at the plenum and gave a speech.⁸

On 22 October 1928 a plenum of Krasnopresnenskiy Raykom relieved M. N. Ryutin of his duties as party raykom secretary. Soon afterwards he was appointed deputy editor of KRASNAYA ZVEZDA, later working as chairman of the Photographic and Cinematographic Industry Administration and All-Union Economic Council Presidium member.

In 1929 M. N. Ryutin traveled as VKP(b) Central Committee responsible official for collectivization in Eastern Siberia, finding there crude distortions of the Leninist line and instances of violence and excesses in kolkhoz building. A memorandum to the Central Committee Politburo written by him after his return to Moscow enraged I. V. Stalin and L. M. Kaganovich, who was in charge of agriculture. However, soon after that M. N. Ryutin saw the main points and central ideas of his memorandum in an article by I. V. Stalin published in PRAVDA under the title "Heads Spinning With Success" and in a letter to the VKP(b) entitled "On the Struggle Against Distortion of the Party Line on the Kolkhoz Movement."

It would seem that the conflict had run its course. But I. V. Stalin did not forget slights. On 21 January 1930 an article titled "On the Matter of the Policy of Eliminating Kulaks as a Class" and published in KRASNAYA ZVEZDA he "straightened out" M. N. Ryutin, who two issues previously had published a lead article on the same subject in the same newspaper; the principal idea in that article was the thought that the course being implemented in rural areas deviated from the line set by the 15th Party Congress. In September of that same year the Central Control Commission Presidium expelled M. N. Ryutin from the VKP(b) on the grounds of his "traitorous, double-dealing behavior toward the party and attempt to carry out underground propaganda work for right opportunist views labeled incompatible with party membership by the 16th Party Congress."

The excuse used to file a personal case against M. N. Ryutin was a statement to the VKP(b) Central Committee from party member A. S. Nemo, who knew him from working with him in the Krasnopresnenskiy Party Raykom. Nemo alleged that in August 1930 he was on vacation in the city of Yessentuki and met M. N. Ryutin there, and that Ryutin expressed sharply critical opinions of the policy of the Central Committee and its head, I. V. Stalin, calling it ruinous for the country, assessed the physical situation of the country's workers as very

difficult, expressed opposition to forced collectivization, condemned reprisals against party members who expressed any disagreement with I. V. Stalin's opinion and expressed a negative opinion of the line being followed by fraternal parties.

During the hearing of his personal case and in his written explanation to the VKP(b) Central Control Commission M. N. Ryutin categorically denied the statements attributed to him and declared that what he had said had been distorted. There were no other witnesses to the conversations which took place between M. N. Ryutin and A. S. Nemo in Yessentuki. However, during a hearing at a session of the VKP(b) Central Control Commission on 23 September 1930 M. N. Ryutin's claims were not taken into consideration; the accusation was based on A. S. Nemo's statement. Judging by speeches made by Ye. M. Yaroslavskiy and in particular A. S. Yenukidze⁹ and M. F. Shkiryatov,¹⁰ M. N. Ryutin's chief guilt lay in his criticism of I. V. Stalin's actions in connection with M. N. Ryutin's 1928 dismissal from the post of Krasnopresnenskiy Party Raykom secretary (Moscow), of which he wrote in his explanation. "Even then, in 1928, when I opposed him on the Krasnopresnenskiy Raykom Bureau," M. N. Ryutin wrote to the Central Control Commission, "I regarded Stalin as the strongest party leader and the leader most capable of implementing Leninist principles. At that time I deviated from the party line in regard to the pace and assessment of the situation in the villages. I feel that Comrade Stalin defamed me needlessly and had me thrown out of party work with a clever maneuver. I consider that dishonesty toward me on his part."

M. N. Ryutin was expelled from the party and then arrested and accused of counterrevolutionary propaganda and agitation. However, on 17 January 1931 even the OGPU Board was forced to admit that that charge was groundless, and M. N. Ryutin was released. For the next year-and-a-half, until he was once again arrested in September 1932, he worked as an economist for Soyuz-elektro.

In 1936 M. N. Ryutin, at that time in the Verkhneuralsk political prison camp, was transferred to Moscow. There he was indicted on a new accusation—terrorism—based on the materials in the "documents" (the "platform" and "manifesto/appeal" of the "Union of Marxist-Leninists") written by him previously.

In a letter to the USSR Central Executive Committee dated 4 November 1936 and preserved in his file, M. N. Ryutin requests that the accusation against him be withdrawn and defends his dignity as a citizen. The following is the full text of that document.

**To the USSR Central Executive Committee Presidium
From Prisoner M. N. Ryutin, NKVD Internal Prison: A
Statement**

At the present time, after serving almost five years of my 10-year sentence, I have once again been put on trial by the NKVD for the fact that, firstly, some passages and

expressions in the illegal "documents" written by me at one time in the past are now being interpreted by those in charge of the investigation as appeals to terror and, secondly, because on the basis of those documents rightist terrorist groups have allegedly been established and exposed in some places.

In regard to the substance of the accusation being made against me I deem it essential to report the following to the Central Executive Committee:

1. I do not acknowledge any guilt except in regard to the reasons for the lengthy sentence which I am presently serving. I have never been a terrorist, am not now nor will I ever be. I have never had terrorist views or sentiments, nor do I now. I have at no place or time ever expressed any sympathy for terror and I have always had a hostile attitude toward it. This new "interpretation" of certain quotes from the "documents" as terroristic is clearly biased and tendentious.

Furthermore, I feel it essential to add that I renounced the view which I set forth in the "documents" four years ago. Since that time I have not belonged to any political parties, factions or ideologies. I have renounced all forms of political struggle and political activity forever.

2. I was convicted (and no one has repealed that sentence as of this time) and have served almost one-half of my sentence for the aggregate of my views as set forth in the "documents," regardless of how those "documents" or individual passages in them may be interpreted, on the basis of all those "documents," right down to the last sentence, the last word, the last letter; for all this I have already been sentenced, no one has repealed that sentence, and a new trial against me on the basis of the same "documents" or passages and phrases from them is clearly illegal, arbitrary and biased.

3. I was convicted and am already serving the fifth year of a punishment for the aggregate of my actions (and for all their consequences), dissemination of the "documents" included, as well as for all the consequences of that dissemination in the form of the possibility of any and all illegal groups or cells being formed through the influence of those documents one month later, one year later, five years or even 10 years later. New criminal charges against me because of my responsibility for those actions and their consequences are clearly illegal, arbitrary and biased.

4. There is not a single act of criminal legislation, from Roman law right to the present day in all countries, including Soviet criminal law, which permits an individual to be tried for the same crime two times, even if the crime is called by a different name the second time.

The very fact that I am being tried a second time on the basis of my responsibility for the same crime, for which I have already spent almost five years in prison, for the same "documents" or individual passages from them, for the dissemination of them, is simply monstrous. Insofar as I know there is no equally monstrous instance

in the history of court trials and penal policy in Europe or America in recent centuries!

5. The articles of the Criminal Code under which I was sentenced encompassed and undoubtedly still encompasses the aggregate of the criminal acts committed by me and my criminal views, but those articles do not contain any accusation of terrorism. Consequently neither my "documents" nor my actions contained then or now any element of "terrorism." If that were not the case, then other, appropriate articles of the Criminal Code would have been applied to me.

6. During my trial the VKP(b) Central Committee Politburo familiarized itself or at least was familiarized with the criminal "documents" written by me and with the aggregate of the crime committed by me. However, the Politburo found nothing in these things which would be grounds for accusing me of terrorism. If that were not the case, then it would undoubtedly have issued appropriate instructions to the GPU Board and I would have been convicted of terrorism. I was not convicted of terrorism, hence neither my views nor my actions contained any element of terrorism.

7. When it convicted me to 10 years in prison the GPU Board undoubtedly in turn carefully familiarized itself with the illegal "documents" written by me and painstakingly studied every tiny detail of my case. It also did not find anything "terroristic" in them, otherwise I would have been convicted under the appropriate statutes, those dealing with terrorism. I was not convicted, nothing was found and nothing existed in my views and actions which constituted terrorism.

8. Molchanov, chief of the GPU's Special Political Department and in charge of the investigation into my case, also undoubtedly carefully studied all the smallest details of my "documents" and my entire case. He also did not find any grounds in them to accuse me of terrorism and did not make any such accusation. Consequently this also attests to the fact that there was no element of terrorism in my case.

Yet now Molchanov is accusing me of terrorism on the basis of the same documents and the individual passages from them, on the basis of the same actions (dissemination of the documents and the consequences of that action)! Monstrous!

9. For a number of months following my trial the press, the newspapers, carried out a thorough explanatory campaign concerning that trial. There is no doubt that they acted on directives which they had received and were sufficiently well informed. They, too, found no evidence of terrorism in my case and did not comment on it. Could it be that they, too, "overlooked the elephant"?

10. Finally, the USSR Central Executive Committee Presidium, as the highest legislative organ, monitors the activities of all executive organs of power, including the GPU (NKVD) and undoubtedly also monitored the

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progress of my trial. It, too, failed to find anything that would incriminate me in terrorism. Otherwise it would have issued instructions to the appropriate organs to repeal the GPU Board's sentence and file a new, more appropriate indictment against me.

Thus, the highest soviet and party organs and the most authoritative individuals in the country did not find anything terroristic in any part of my case, Molchanov included, yet now Molchanov is accusing me of terrorism, on the basis of the same case, after I have already served almost one-half of my 10-year prison sentence!

On the basis of all the above it follows with complete obviousness and indisputable clarity that:

Firstly, my views, documents and actions and the entire aggregate of my case did not contain and do not now contain any information which would serve as grounds for accusing me of terrorism; therefore lodging this accusation against me is clearly illegal, arbitrary, tendentious and biased.

Secondly, even if my case had contained any element of terrorism (which was not the case), I have already been convicted of it, because I was convicted on the basis of every line and word in my "documents", for my slightest action, for my every step to disseminate those "documents" and for the consequences of that dissemination, regardless of what they were. My sentence has not been repealed and I have already spent a long time in prison; therefore putting me on trial again for the same thing is, I reiterate, completely illegal, arbitrary and biased.

By citing the individual phrases from the "documents" which are being used to incriminate me in an appeal to terrorism I could also, I believe, convincingly prove the obvious bias and absurdity of their new "interpretation." (It is not surprising that the highest party and soviet organs, the most authoritative individuals and the GPU Board's sentence did not find anything terroristic in them.) But I am unfortunately extremely limited in what I can write, as the prison administration has, despite my persistent requests and obviously on instructions from the chief of investigation, refused to give me an adequate amount of paper for what I need to write, limiting me to this single sheet; therefore I am forced to give up that idea.

On the basis of everything that I have said, being most deeply convinced of my innocence of the charges now being brought against me and finding this accusation absolutely illegal, arbitrary and biased and dictated by exceptional malice and a thirst for a new and this time bloody reprisal against me, I of course categorically refused and continue to refuse to give evidence against myself in regard to the accusation being made against me. I do not intend and will not speak untruth about myself, not matter what this may cost me.

To all that I have said I would like to add in conclusion that I feel it essential to add that the very investigative methods applied to me are also completely illegal and

impermissible. At every interrogation session I am threatened, I am screamed at like an animal, I am insulted and, finally, I am not even permitted to give a written refusal with explanation as to why I will not give evidence; I am only allowed to write "refused to give evidence," without any motivating factors considered, which obviously has the intention of acquiring this unexplained refusal and interpreting it in such a way as will be most advantageous to the chief of investigation. This is a violation of the most elemental rights of the investigative subject, because the latter has a right to write any and all sorts of written statements pertaining to his case to the investigative, judicial and legislative organs of authority. All these things taken together border on extortion of personal testimony under duress.

On the basis of all the above I request that the USSR Central Executive Committee:

1. Protect me as a prisoner who has already served a lengthy prison sentence, and as a person, against this illegal reprisal against me, against my illegal second trial for the same crime for which I am presently serving time, this time with a new, complex and biased manipulation of that crime; I request that the appropriate organs be instructed to withdraw the accusation being made against me illegally and return me to normal conditions of imprisonment so that I may continue to serve my sentence.

2. Protect me from further threats, bestial treatment and from the insults and yelling to which I am subjected.

I, naturally, have no fear of death, which the NKVD's investigative apparatus is evidently preparing for me in an illegal and biased manner. I declare in advance that I will not even request clemency, for I cannot repent and beg for mercy or for any reduction of punishment for something which I did not do and of which I am completely innocent. But I cannot and do not intend to suffer in silence the illegal acts which are being committed against me and I request that I be protected against them.

In the event that I do not receive this protection I will once again be forced to attempt to defend myself with the only means which are available under such conditions to a prisoner who is defenseless, without rights, bound hand and foot, completely cut off from the outside world and unjustly persecuted.

[Signed] M. Ryutin, 4 November 1936, Moscow, NKVD Special Purpose Internal Prison

N. I. Yezhov immediately passed this letter from M. N. Ryutin along to I. V. Stalin. No reply was received.

On 10 January 1937 Martemyan Nikitich Ryutin was sentenced by the USSR Supreme Court Military Board under the emergency act passed on 1 December 1934, with no opportunity to face his accusers or defend

himself. He was sentenced to the highest measure of punishment and shot that same day.

On 8 June 1988 the USSR Supreme Court's Judicial Board on Criminal Cases rescinded the OGPU Board sentence handed down on 11 October 1932, and on 13 June 1988 a USSR Supreme Court plenum rescinded the criminal convictions due to a lack of evidence that a crime had been committed by any of the individuals convicted in the case of the so-called "Union of Marxist-Leninists" and later retried on the basis of the same fictitious accusations.

CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee

CPSU Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism

(These materials on the case of the so-called "Union of Marxist-Leninists" were prepared by I. Donkov, O. Molokankina and R. Nesterov.)

Footnotes

1. Ya. E. Sten: party member since 1914, in 1932 a professor at the Red Professors' Institute and an associate of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

2. N. A. Uglanov: party member since 1907, at that time sector head under the USSR People's Commissariat for Heavy Industry.

3. N. K. Kuzmyn, party member since 1918. Shot in 1937. Rehabilitated in 1956.

4. N. A. Storozhenko: party member since 1917. Shot in 1937. Rehabilitated in 1957.

5. A. N. Slepkov: party member since 1919, professor at Rostov Pedagogical Institute.

6. A. I. Kozlovskiy: AUCCTU physician.

7. N. V. Ustryalov: politician, jurist and member of the Constitutional Democratic Party. Emigrated after the Civil War. Put forward the program of the so-called "succession of eras," which spoke of a bourgeois overthrow of the Soviet system.

8. See: I. V. Stalin, "Sochineniya" [Works], Vol 11, pp 222-238.

9. A. S. Yenukidze: USSR Central Executive Committee Presidium secretary.

10. M. F. Shkiriyatov: VKP(b) Central Control Commission Party Board secretary.

INFORMATION AND CHRONICLE

On Compliance With the 1988 CPSU Budget

18050006i Moscow IZVESTIYA TsK KPSS in Russian
No 6, Jun 89 pp 116-119—FOR OFFICIAL USE
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[Text] The 1988 CPSU Budget was fulfilled by 106.8 percent in its revenue section and by 94.5 percent in its expenditure section.

The greatest portion of party budget revenue came from party membership dues, which totalled 1.4599 billion rubles.

Membership dues covered 82 percent of all budget expenditures; the remainder was financed with deductions from profits made by enterprises under the jurisdiction of the CPSU Central Committee Administration of Affairs, central party publishing houses and local party organizations' publishing houses.

Expenditures for all aspects of party committees' organizational and political work totalled 1.7234 billion rubles, or 100.1 million rubles less than the total of approved budget allocations. Of the latter figure, 58.1 million of the unutilized rubles would have gone to salary and bonus funds. Furthermore, in accordance with instructions from the CPSU Central Committee party budget funds were used to render financial and material assistance to aid recovery efforts in the wake of the Armenian earthquake, a total sum of 50.2 million rubles. Thus total expenditures from the party budget were 1.7736 billion rubles.

Substantial savings were achieved by cutting back expenditures for maintenance of party committees and party institutions as compared to planned allocations for these categories; this was possible due to a cutback of 7,000 staff members in local party organs as a result of improvement in their apparatus structure and elimination of a number of party committees.

The staff of senior officials under party obkoms and kraykoms and the union republic central committees was cut by 27.7 percent. The average number of senior officials in each of these party committees is now 79, with an average figure of 20 for party committees at the rayon and city level.

Nine party obkoms have been abolished in Kazakhstan, Kirghizia, Tajikistan, Turkmenia and Uzbekistan. A total of 51 party raykoms have been eliminated in 16 cities of the RSFSR, seven cities in the Kazakh SSR and the city of Kerch in the Ukrainian SSR. Three gorkoms and 62 rural raykoms were abolished in a number of union republics and in the krays and oblasts of the RSFSR, and an additional eight party raykoms were merged with gorkoms bearing the same name. During 1988 a total of 133 party committees were eliminated at the oblast, city and rayon levels.

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The CPSU Central Committee abolished 11 departments and eliminated the jobs of 536 senior officials and 143 technical staff members.

At the same time low-level party organizations have been strengthened. As of 1 January 1989 a total of 76,800 full-time personnel in primary party organizations were being supported out of the party budget.

Of total budget expenditures 87 percent went to finance the activities of local party committees and party institutions and to develop their physical facilities. Expenditures for these purposes have increased by 41 million rubles since 1987 and presently total 1.4999 billion rubles. This increase in expenditures results from the establishment of additional full-time positions in primary party organizations, expanded cadre training and advanced training, larger allocations for transport acquisition due to a rise in motor vehicles prices and payment of higher per diems and living expenses during travel on official party business.

In 1988 a new procedure for budget planning was introduced, and this has substantially expanded the rights of party committees and party institutions. The expenditure portion of local party organizations' budgets and the estimated budget of central party institutions is now approved as a lump sum, with salary funds and capital investment volumes the only sections allocated separately. Now party committees and party institutions have the right to determine for themselves how best to allocate their funds for various sections of their budgets and estimated costs.

In order to encourage more efficient utilization of financial resources allocations are now being broken down into fewer categories. Allocations for building maintenance, inventory purchases, office mechanization and propaganda-related equipment which were previously separated out in the estimated budgets of party committees and party institutions are now lumped together under the heading of party organs' operating expenditures.

The 1988 budget made provision for payment out of this same section of salaries for full-time personnel in party raykom and gorkom political education sections, thus permitting party committees to make broader use of statutes governing combination of professions and official duties.

Of the total amount of budget expenditures, local party organizations spent 778.5 million rubles on maintenance of party committees and 241.7 million on day-to-day expenses incurred in their operations. A total of 69.1 million rubles were spent on maintenance of party institutions and on mass political work. Expenditures for the training and advanced training of party, soviet and ideological cadres totalled 48.2 million rubles. The Odessa Higher Party School was established in 1988. The number of full-time and correspondence students at

higher party schools increased from 18,500 to 20,300; a total of 224,000 individuals completed special courses and seminars.

A total of 362.4 million rubles was spent on the construction of facilities for local party organs and party publishing houses, repairs on buildings belonging to party committees and party institutions and housing construction. Expenditures for these purposes increased by 15.6 million rubles as compared to 1987.

In accordance with instructions from the CPSU Central Committee Administration of Affairs Central Committee cutbacks in the construction of administrative buildings have been considered. In order to make more labor and physical resources available for social development plans 18 planned administrative building projects were dropped from the construction plan, for an estimated total savings of 22.4 million rubles; these projects included buildings for the Krasnoyarsk Kraykom, Tashauz Obkom and several party raykoms. The annual plan for financing construction by local party organs was cut by 5.1 million rubles, with the volume of construction and installation work thus made available turned over to local soviets.

An appropriate volume of administrative building construction will also be the subject of constant attention when capital construction plans are drawn up in coming years. A total of 83 administrative buildings have already been eliminated from the 1989 plan.

In 1988 the number of party organizations which covered all their own expenses out of their own revenues increased. There were 35 party organizations which completely covered their own expenses and also contributed to the CPSU budget, including republic party organizations in Azerbaijan, Armenia, Belorussia, Georgia, Latvia, Lithuania, Moldavia, Uzbekistan, the Ukraine and Estonia, Krasnodar, Maritime and Stavropol kray party organizations, the Moscow City Party Organization, and the Bashkir, Belgorod, Voronezh, Irkutsk, Kaliningrad, Kemerovo, Kuybyshev, Leningrad, Moscow, Murmansk, Novosibirsk, Perm, Rostov, Sverdlovsk, Tatar, Tula, Tyumen, Chelyabinsk and Yaroslavl oblast party organizations. The remaining 51 party organizations received subsidies from the CPSU budget comprising 25 percent of their expenditures.

Expenditures for the maintenance of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism, the All-Union House of Political Education, the Central V. I. Lenin Museum, the "Leninskiye Gorki" State Historical Park and the CPSU Central Committee Academy and Institute of Social Sciences were cut by 25.3 million rubles.

A total of 104.9 million rubles was spent to develop the physical facilities of party publishing houses and central party institutions and to build facilities belonging to the CPSU Central Committee Administration of Affairs. Capital investment in the development of central party publishing houses' facilities increased by 5.8 million rubles over its 1987 level.

Expenditures in the CPSU Central Committee section of the budget were 52.3 million rubles, of which 32.1 million rubles were spent on the maintenance of the CPSU Central Committee apparatus, its daily operating expenses, business trips and other undertakings; 20.2 million rubles were spent on the maintenance of convalescent homes and financial operations and organizations under Central Committee jurisdiction. As compared to 1987, expenditures for maintenance of the CPSU Central Committee apparatus increased by 1.9 million rubles, primarily due to purchases of computer equipment. However, there was a concurrent reduction in expenditures for salary, intercity phone calls, office supplies and certain other budget sections due to cut-backs in the size of the apparatus, this reduction totalling 0.9 million rubles. Expenditures for the upkeep of convalescent homes and other facilities under Central Committee jurisdiction remained at the previous year's level.

An additional 36.5 million rubles were spent for other purposes, including the CPSU Central Committee's international activities.

The CPSU Central Committee, the CPSU Central Auditing Commission, local party committees and local party auditing commissions have implemented systematic monitoring of compliance with the party budget. Inspection of membership dues payment has been conducted in a majority of primary party organizations. Compliance with estimated expenditures for the maintenance of party gorkoms, raykoms, okruzhkoms, obkoms and kraykoms and union republic party central committees and their party institutions was also checked.

In addition, in 1988 the CPSU Central Committee Administration of Affairs checked the financial operations of party central committees in Armenia, Latvia, Uzbekistan and Estonia, the Maritime Party Kraykom, the Moscow Party Gorkom, 18 party obkoms, the Academy of Social Sciences, the Institute of Marxism-Leninism and the Central V. I. Lenin Museum. In conjunction with the CPSU Central Auditing Commission an inspection was conducted into the Tajik CP Central Committee and a number of the republic's party committees and the CPSU Central Committee Institute of Social Sciences.

Thorough audits were carried out on the production/financial activities of Pravda Publishers, the Krasny Proletariy Printing Plant, five publishing houses under local party organs and all economic operations under the jurisdiction of the CPSU Central Committee Administration of Affairs.

Inspections and audits of annual financial reports revealed substantial shortcomings in the payment and accounting of membership dues in a number of party organizations.

According to data for 1 January 1989 provided in annual accounts, 0.5 percent of party organizations' members owed party dues.

In 1988 cases of incomplete payment of party dues were uncovered in almost one out of three primary party organizations inspected; in the Tajik republic party organization and in the Vladimir, Voronezh, Kamchatka, Kostroma, Murmansk, Sakhalin and North Osetian oblast party organizations this figure was one out of two.

Falsified accounts and efforts to conceal indebtedness and failure to pay membership dues were discovered in some party organizations. These serious shortcomings were found in primary party organizations in Latvia, Estonia, the Udmurt ASSR and Belgorod, Bryansk, Vologda, Irkutsk, Moscow, Orenburg, Ryazan, Tambov and several other oblasts.

The inspections conducted in 1988 did not uncover any flagrant financial misconduct. Estimated spending limits for the maintenance of party committees and party institutions were complied with and savings achieved in virtually all budget sections.

However, a number of party organs are not making sufficiently effective use of funds allocated for cadre training or the organization of universities of Marxism-Leninism and mass political work.

The CPSU Central Committee and the CPSU Central Auditing Commission have considered the report on compliance with the 1988 Party Budget. In a resolution adopted by the CPSU Central Committee it is noted that many party committees and primary party organizations have not carried out radical restructuring of their organizational party work and have become less exacting in regard to strict compliance by communists with charter standards and party discipline, as attested to by serious shortfalls in the payment of party membership dues and the cases of indebtedness which continue to occur. Party committees' attention was directed to the fact that these negative phenomena do not always received a principled, partylike assessment and that violations of CPSU Charter requirements are not being made public and are seldom submitted to party members for discussion. Shortcomings in financial operations and expenditure of funds were pointed out to party committees.

Union republic party central committees and party kraykoms and obkoms have been instructed to carry out an in-depth and comprehensive analysis of the status of dues payment in their organizations and on the basis of that analysis take additional measures aimed at establishing order in this regard, raise their standards for and demands upon communists in regard to compliance with charter requirements and upholding the honest and pure name of party member.

The CPSU Central Committee required the CPSU Central Committee Party Building and Cadre Work Department and the Administration of Affairs to step up their monitoring of work by party committees to improve the quality of compliance with the party budget.

CPSU Central Committee Administration of Affairs

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On Fulfillment of the 12 July 1988 CPSU Central Committee Resolution "On Improvement of and Reductions in the Apparatus Administrative Structure of Public Organizations"

18050006i Moscow IZVESTIYA TsK KPSS in Russian
No 6, Jun 89 pp 120-121—FOR OFFICIAL USE
ONLY

[Text] In accordance with instructions issued on 12 July 1988 the CPSU Central Committee Party Building and Cadre Work Department hereby reports on the work that has been done to improve the administrative apparatus of trade union and Komsomol organs and other public organizations under the department's supervision and to reduce the number of their administrative personnel.

In trade union organs. In accordance with a decision by the 3rd AUCCTU Plenum, as of 1 April 1989 production-related trade unions had abolished 617 trade union committees (23.1 percent), including 27 republic-level committees and 590 kray- and oblast-level committees in places where there are no corresponding republic, kray or oblast economic administration organs. As a result trade unions in those sectors have essentially made a transition to a two-level administrative structure, consisting of trade union central committee and enterprise trade union committee.

In order to coordinate the work of primary trade union organizations sector councils of trade union committee chairmen have been set up in their place on a volunteer basis; a number of regions have established positions for trade union organizers under central (republic) trade union committees.

Trade unions in the non-production sectors of the economy have made a transition from a four- or five-level structure to what is essentially a three- or four-level structure, in the process eliminating 75.6 percent of previously existing rayon and city trade union committees. All totalled, 11,700 trade union raykoms and gorkoms have been eliminated.

In order to develop the most efficient structure under the new conditions of sector and territorial economic administration, a number of regions have been conducting experiments on the basis of an AUCCTU decision. Thus in Kalinin and Kuybyshev oblasts there is now a greater emphasis on sectors in trade union work; Stavropol Kray and Guryev Oblast are stressing the work of inter-union organs. There are plans to utilize the results of these experiments to determine ways of further improving trade union structure.

Overall plans were made to cut the administrative apparatus of oblast, kray, republic and central trade union committees and councils by 10,900 individuals, or by 25 percent. In actuality the total cutback in the administrative staff of trade union organs, including staff members of the raykoms and gorkoms which were abolished, involved 10,662 individuals, or 24.7 percent. In view of

present circumstances the decision was made to maintain previous trade union staff levels in the Armenian SSR, Nagorno-Karabakh AO and a number of oblasts affected by the Chernobyl nuclear accident.

As for the AUCCTU, its apparatus has been cut back by 30 percent as compared to 1987.

In the apparatus of organizations under trade union jurisdiction there has been a cutback of 6,156 individuals (26.7 percent), including 25 percent on All-Union Inventors' and Rationalizers' councils and 25.1 percent All-Union Voluntary Physical Culture and Sports councils, as planned.

In the apparatus of the Central Council of the All-Union Voluntary Society to Promote Sobriety the 86 previous full-time staff positions have been cut by 43 (50 percent), as planned.

In Komsomol organs. In accordance with measures aimed at improving the structure and reducing the size of the apparatus, as outlined by an All-Union Komsomol Central Committee plenum, a reduction of 23.5 percent was carried out in the size of departments under the All-Union Komsomol Central Committee, union republic Komsomol central committee and kraykom and obkom Komsomol apparatus. The total number of persons employed in the apparatus of oblast, kray and republic Komsomol committees has been cut by over 1,800 (25.4 percent); the number of persons working in the All-Union Komsomol Central Committee by 120 (25 percent), or by more than 35 percent if the cuts made in 1987 are included.

Through the establishment of cost-accounting centers, associations and other youth groups there are plans for these organizations to assume by the end of 1989 a number of functions presently being performed by the apparatus of the All-Union Komsomol Central Committee, union republic Komsomol central committees and Komsomol kraykoms and obkoms, thus making it possible to increase overall cutbacks in the apparatus to 30 percent.

The data presented here indicate that planned measures aimed at improving the apparatus of the public organizations in question and reducing its size have essentially been realized. It is suggested that the AUCCTU and the All-Union Komsomol Central Committee continue these efforts in the future to the extent that they are able to do so.

CPSU Central Committee Party Building and Cadre Work Department

21 April 1989

On the Detergent Supply

18050006i Moscow IZVESTIYA TsK KPSS in Russian
No 6, Jun 89 pp 122-123—FOR OFFICIAL USE
ONLY

[Text] To Comrade M. S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee General Secretary

At the April 1989 CPSU Central Committee Plenum justified criticism was directed at the USSR Ministry of the Chemical Industry and the USSR Ministry of Construction in the Northern and Western Regions of the USSR in regard to their intolerable delays in completing construction of facilities for the production of detergents in the city of Novomoskovsk, those facilities to have a capacity of 200,000 metric tons per year.

The measures which have been taken made it possible to put initial production capacities of 100,000 metric tons per year into production in April of this year. The second section, which also includes city filtration devices and social, cultural and everyday facilities, will also be completed in the current year.

At the present time washing powders have already gone on sale at trade organizations in Novomoskovsk. This year the production facility already in operation will produce 60,000 metric tons, thus providing a substantial contribution toward meeting the public's demand for washing powders.

In order to provide adequate raw materials for detergent production a facility producing alkylbenzene is currently approaching completion in Sumgait. However, it must be acknowledged that the rate at which this particular facility has been built is unsatisfactory. During on-site visits and personal meetings with comrades A. Kh. Vezirov and A. N. Mutalibov measures were outlined which will definitely ensure completion of the facility by the end of this year. In order to provide sufficient raw material to produce detergents this year the ministry has purchased alkylbenzene from foreign firms with its own funds.

It should be noted that at the present time detergents are being produced in our country by six sectors of the economy (the Ministry of the Chemical Industry, Ministry of the Petroleum Industry, Ministry of the Mineral Fertilizer Industry, enterprises in the agroindustrial complex, the Ministry of Machine Building and union republic ministries of local industry). Their goals for the current year were set in complete accordance with the need expressed by the USSR Ministry of Trade and they are being achieved.

During the first three years of the current five-year plan 44,000 metric tons of detergents were produced above the planned volume of 3.69 million metric tons, including 17,000 metric tons above a plan goal of 2.112 million metric tons by the USSR Ministry of the Chemical Industry. During the first four months of the current year that ministry fulfilled its plan goal by 103.2 percent. More than 7,000 metric tons of washing powders have been produced above plan.

It should be noted that in 1988 the trade system did not express any concerns about a shortage of washing powders. Taking the situation which exists at the present time into account, the USSR Ministry of the Chemical Industry and other agencies are taking steps to meet the expanding demand for detergents. Thus, already this

year our country's enterprises will produce 1.45 million metric tons of them, above plan quotas, with 710,000 metric tons being produced by the USSR Ministry of the Chemical Industry. The USSR Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations and the USSR Ministry of the Chemical Industry have also imported 224,000 metric tons of detergents (from 1983 through 1988 the average annual import volume was only 40,000 metric tons).

Furthermore, measures are being taken in May of this year to supply the trade system with 30,000 metric tons of detergent through imported purchases made by the USSR Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations, as well as approximately 22,000 metric tons through our ministry.

Thus, the actual available supply of detergents in 1989 will be 1.674 million tons. That is to say, in practical terms we will already have achieved the plan goal set for 1990. If we add to this the production of household soap (680,000 tons), then per capita consumption of detergents this year will be 7.6 kilograms. This is equivalent to the amount consumed in countries like Finland, Japan, Bulgaria, etc.

In our opinion, one of the main reasons for the current detergent shortage is overall failure to meet the public's demand for consumer goods, as well as rumors of impending price increases.

The USSR Ministry of the Chemical Industry is of the opinion that current detergent production and the additional measures which have been taken will, if conducted in conjunction with appropriate explanatory work by the mass media, make it possible to balance supply and demand and overcome the difficulties which have arisen in this respect.

The above is hereby reported by way of information concerning the measures which have been taken.

Respectfully yours,

Yu. Besspalov, USSR Minister of the Chemical Industry
12 May 1989

On Production of Disposable Syringes and Needles

18050006i Moscow IZVESTIYA TsK KPSS in Russian
No 6, Jun 89 pp 124-125—FOR OFFICIAL USE
ONLY

[Text] To M. S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee General Secretary

The USSR Ministry of Instrument Making, Automation Equipment and Control Systems, the USSR Ministry of the Medical and Microbiological Industry and the USSR Ministry of the Machine Tool and Tool Building Industry have considered the critical comments made by you at a CPSU Central Committee plenum on 25 April 1989 in regard to organization of disposable syringe and

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needle production and hereby report on the state of affairs in this regard and on the steps that have been taken.

USSR Council of Ministers Resolution No 1508, issued 12 December 1986, set the task of supplying the USSR Ministry of Health with disposable syringes and needles during the 1987-88 period, including 30 million syringes and 131 million needles from the USSR Ministry of the Instrument Making, Automation Equipment and Control Systems and 77 million syringes from the USSR Ministry of the Medical and Microbiological Industry, as well as of expanding existing production facilities and building new ones to achieve a production level of 1.8 billion syringes and 2.16 billion needles in 1990.

That resolution also set tasks for the USSR ministry of the Defense Industry and USSR Ministry of the Machine Tool and Tool Building Industry regarding the creation and installment during the 1988-90 period of automated rotary and rotary-conveyor lines to manufacture disposable syringes and needles.

The newness of the technical specifications and difficulties with their practical realization prevented the Automated Production Lines Design Bureau of the USSR Ministry of the Defense Industry and the Pressmash and Stankoliniya production associations under the USSR Ministry of the Machine Tool and Tool Building Industry from completing and producing experimental models of these production lines in 1988.

In view of the present situation in regard to equipment supply, in 1988 the USSR Ministry of Instrument Making, Automation Equipment and Control Systems and the USSR purchased two complete production assemblies for the manufacture of disposable syringes, each with a capacity of 100 million units, plus one unit for the manufacture of needles, with an annual capacity of 150 million units.

In December 1988 installation of the syringe-manufacturing equipment was completed at the USSR Ministry of Instrument Making, Automation Equipment and Control Systems Tyumen Medical Equipment and Instrument Plant and at the USSR Ministry of the Medical and Microbiological Industry's Leningrad Medical Polymers Plant; the production lines went into operation in the first quarter of this year.

In February 1989 the Tyumen Medical Equipment and Instrument Plant also received the first section of the disposable needle-manufacturing assembly.

A total of 60.4 million syringes and 5.6 million needles were purchased in 1988 using the ministries' own convertible currency funds in order to partially satisfy health organs' demand.

In 1987, 1988 and the first four months of this year the USSR Ministry of Health received 101.1 million disposable syringes and 197 million disposable needles, and a

sufficient number of needles have now been shipped for all the syringes which were previously shipped without them.

On 29 March 1989 the USSR Council of Ministers Presidium considered the status of compliance with its resolution governing the production and shipment to health organs of disposable syringes and needles and noted that:

—in 1989-90 the USSR Ministry of the Machine Tool and Tool Building Industry will supply the USSR Ministry of Instrument Making, Automation Equipment and Control Systems and the USSR Ministry of the Medical and Microbiological Industry with equipment for the production of 1.2 billion syringes annually;

—in 1989 the USSR Ministry of the Defense Industry will deliver to the USSR Ministry of Instrument Making, Automation Equipment and Control Systems 10 complete assemblies for the manufacture of a quantity of two billion disposable needles annually.

At the same time the USSR Council of Ministers Presidium also decided to allocate 47 million rubles in convertible currency for the purchase abroad of disposable syringe and needle manufacturing equipment and on this basis has instructed the USSR Ministry of the Medical and Microbiological Industry and the USSR Ministry of Instrument Making, Automation Equipment and Control Systems to achieve production of 1.8 billion disposable syringes and 2.16 billion disposable needles for them in 1990, as envisioned in the aforementioned resolution.

In addition, the USSR Ministry of Instrument Making, Automation Equipment and Control Systems found that it was possible in 1988 to allocate 12 million rubles in convertible currency to purchase three production assemblies with a combined capacity of 450 million needles per year.

In accordance with the USSR Council of Ministers decision our ministries, taking into consideration the purchase of imported equipment and the beginning of equipment deliveries from Soviet manufacturers, have drawn up and are presently implementing measures to increase syringe production volume to one billion units annually and production of needles for them to 1.2 billion units annually in 1989.

Ongoing monitoring of the way these tasks are performed has been organized.

M. Shkabardnya, V. Bykov, N. Panichev
6 May 1989

Election and Confirmation of Party Workers

18050006i Moscow IZVESTIYA TsK KPSS in Russian
No 6, Jun 89 p 126—FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

[Text] In May 1989 the CPSU Central Committee approved party committee plenum resolutions concerning the election of the following individuals:

First Secretaries

- of the Georgian CP Central Committee, Comrade **Gumbaridze, Givi Givgoryevich**; born 1945, Georgian, CPSU member since 1972, has higher education, previously served as GSSR KGB chairman.
- of Abkhaz Georgian CP Obkom, Comrade **Khishba, Vladimir Filippovich**; born 1936, Abkhaz, CPSU member since 1963, has higher education, previously served as GSSR State Committee for the Protection of Nature and the Forestry Industry first deputy chairman.

Secretaries

- of Bryansk CPSU Obkom, Comrade **Kurasov, Aleksandr Yegorovich**; born 1939, Russian, CPSU member since 1962, has higher education, previously served as Bryansk CPSU Gorkom first secretary.
- of Lipetsk CPSU Obkom, Comrade **Pertsev, Mikhail Dmitriyevich**; born 1940, Russian, CPSU member since 1963, has higher education, previously served as Lipetsk CPSU Obkom Agrarian Department head.
- of Ternopol Ukrainian CP Obkom, Comrade **Mikolyuk, Nestor Stefanovich**; born 1946, Ukrainian, CPSU member since 1976, has higher education, previously served as Podvolochisskiy Party Raykom first secretary, Ternopol Oblast.
- of Chernovtsy Ukrainian CP Obkom, Comrade **Dmitriyev, Yevgeniy Ivanovich**; born 1947, Russian, CPSU member since 1974, has higher education, previously served as senior organizer in Ukrainian CP Central Committee Organizational Party and Cadre Work Department.
- of Taldy-Kurpan Kazakh CP Obkom, Comrade **Tanirbergenova, Gulysha**; born 1948, Kazakh, CPSU member since 1969, has higher education, previously served as Kazakh SSR deputy minister of public education.

CPSU INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**Program for Ideological Collaboration Between the CPSU and the Czechoslovak CP**

18050006j Moscow IZVESTIYA TsK KPSS in Russian
No 6, Jun 89 pp 127-135—FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

[Text] The following program for ideological collaboration between the CPSU and the Czechoslovak CP [CPCZ] is an important step toward improvement of interparty relations.

In the CSSR it was published in the December 1988 issue of the CPCZ Central Committee journal ZIVOT STRANY (Party Life) and was received with interest by communists and the country's public.

This document is based on traditional practice in Soviet-Czechoslovakian relations of interparty ties, exchanges and consultations in the ideological realm. In addition, the program focuses on the conducting of a joint analysis of a broad spectrum of social and political problems and on elaboration of new goals for collaboration and the search for adequate means for achieving them. The CPSU and the CPCZ intend to do everything they can to support and stimulate both existing and new directions and work forms which will foster the inculcation in working people, especially in the younger generation, of an amicable, respectful attitude toward the history, spiritual values and traditions of their fraternal country, as well as mutual convergence between the peoples of the USSR and the CSSR.

The program introduces a systematic, purposeful basis into these efforts. The ideological departments of the two countries' central committees have agreed to discuss the status of and outlook for realization of the program in July of this year.

Program for Ideological Collaboration Between the CPSU and the CPCZ

The CPSU and the CPCZ are in agreement that the concurrence of a general trend toward restructuring in both the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia is creating favorable conditions for further all-round development of their ideological collaboration. Both parties are, on the basis the 27th CPSU Congress and the 17th CPCZ Congress and agreements reached between M. S. Gorbachev and M. Jakes, directing their efforts toward qualitative improvement in their interaction in the realm of the superstructure, with a view toward the following long-range objectives:

- acceleration of socioeconomic development in both countries;
- restructuring and democratization for the purpose of raising socialism to a higher level and creating the most perfect system of social organization and a highly efficient economy;
- all-round spiritual development, strengthening of the socialist public consciousness and support of all things which serve to deepen mutual awareness, spiritual enrichment, friendship, cooperation and solidarity between the two countries' peoples.

In accordance with this both parties shall purposefully and for the good of each country unite their efforts in the realm of the superstructure; purposefully work to eliminate anything which hinders full unfolding of ideological collaboration between parties and in other areas; support the creation of mechanisms for joint assessment of

experience and conclusions, joint planning and definition of priorities in collaboration on various aspects of the superstructure; monitor and, when necessary, stimulate and direct efforts by party-related and other ideological institutions and agencies.

As they organize their interaction the CPSU and the CPCZ will be guided by Leninist principles of party collaboration.

I. In the Field of Science and Education

The CPSU and the CPCZ shall strive:

- to expand the practice of consultations and exchange of experience concerning party leadership in the field of science and education. Specific matters pertaining to the realization of such consultations will be negotiated between the appropriate central committee departments of each country;
- to encourage fulfillment of the five-year Plan for Cultural and Scientific Collaboration Between the USSR and the CSSR, 1986-90;
- to support in a comprehensive manner collaboration and research work by party scientific research institutes and educational institutions on the creative development of Marxism-Leninism and theoretical elaboration of key questions of contemporary socialism;
- to support the development of research on those periods in history which are connected with strengthening of amicable relations between our countries (for example, the formation of the Czechoslovak Republic, the Munich period, etc.);
- to focus attention on the further development of interaction in the training of skilled cadres and on ways of improving the teaching of Marxist-Leninist theory and students' communist education;
- to increase the effectiveness of work by the Soviet-Czechoslovak commission on collaboration in the social sciences. Attention in this regard will be focused on joint development and research on timely matters pertaining to acceleration of socioeconomic development and restructuring of society. The commission will coordinate approaches relative to rational utilization and integration of both countries' scientific potential and will set priority orientations for the social sciences with the framework of that potential.

The CPSU Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism, the CPCZ Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism, the CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences, the CPSU Central Committee Institute of Social Sciences, the Moscow Higher Party School and the CPCZ Central Committee Higher Political School are drafting a concept to govern their long-range bilateral collaboration in science and research work (with an emphasis on elaborating subjects of great

practical significance to both parties' central committees) and in the area of training for Czechoslovak party workers and graduate students at the CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences and the Moscow Higher Party School and Soviet graduate students at the CPCZ Central Committee Higher Political School.

Efforts will be made to expand the extent and forms of interaction between the USSR Academy of Sciences and the Czechoslovakian Academy of Sciences within the framework of joint Soviet-Czechoslovakian commissions on collaboration in the social, natural and technical sciences, greater exchange of scientific workers, including long-term trainee programs, and more in-depth contacts between Soviet academic institutions and Czechoslovakian Academy of Sciences institutions and other scientific research institutions in both countries on a partnership basis.

Both sides shall be oriented toward collaboration in the field of science and direct ties between corresponding institutions, institutes and VUZs; they shall work innovatively to develop opportunities for the establishment of joint programs for research and theoretical elaboration of key issues relative to restructuring, socialist democracy, popular self-government, activation of the human factor, the contradictions in modern civilization, integration processes, relationships between socialist countries and other matters; they shall consider establishing a joint scientific collective on human rights and the development of democracy.

In order to develop interaction in the field of social sciences instruction and social science cadre training the Soviet Union will accept up to 50 students annually for study in the social sciences, up to 20 (as of 1990 up to 25) graduate students, up to 40 (as of 1990 up to 50) trainees and up to 50 students at the Moscow State University Advanced Training Institute for lengths of time varying from two to five months; the organization of joint summer schools for young instructors and scientific associates on priority aspects of science will be supported; cooperation and exchange of experience between public opinion research institutions in both countries will be expanded, and joint research projects will be encouraged.

In addition to existing collaboration between party museums (the V. I. Lenin museums in Moscow and Prague and the Klement Gotvald Museum in Prague) the Yu. Fuchik museums in Tashkent and Prague will establish mutual collaboration. Party museums will introduce five-year collaboration planning (to coincide with the period between party congresses). Meetings of museum directors will be held (twice in each five-year period) in Moscow and Prague alternately in order to draft and discuss specific details of plans for collaboration.

The USSR State Committee for Public Education and appropriate ministries in the USSR and the CSSR will be responsible for undertaking steps toward direct collaboration between the two countries' VUZs relative to

realization of the tasks set forth in the Complex Program for Scientific-Technical Progress in CEMA Member Countries up to the Year 2000, establishment of joint research collectives and laboratories and training of specialists in various fields. Both sides will consider the matter of establishing an Intergovernmental Soviet-Czechoslovakian Commission on Coordination in the Field of Education; will expand free programs of student exchanges for the purpose of providing practical production experience; will organize an annual exchange of two or three groups of party committee secretaries between cooperating VUZs, scientific research institutes and institutions.

The CPSU and the CPCZ regard all-round support for further deepening of collaboration in the field of Russian, Czech and Slovak language study in both countries as an important task and intend to conclude between the USSR State Committee for Public Education and the Czech and Slovak ministries of education a "Program for Collaboration in Russian, Czech and Slovak Language Study."

II. In the Field of Culture

The CPSU and the CPCZ deem it appropriate to expand in every way contacts between cultural and arts institutions and intend to do everything they can to foster the development and establishment of new ties in those areas and to encourage efforts in this direction by the Intergovernmental Commission on Cultural Collaboration Between the USSR and the CSSR. They shall:

- direct the attention of cultural institutions and creative unions to expansion of opportunities for intellectual intercourse and enrichment between the peoples of the two countries and their further convergence;
- develop and perfect the practice of holding traditional Soviet-Czechoslovakian culture days and festivals of song, drama, music and cinema and strive to make them more effective;
- aid in all-round expansion of personal contacts between cultural figures, regular conducting of creative discussions, exchanges of opinion and discussion of joint projects.

The appropriate CPSU Central Committee and CPCZ Central Committee departments shall give support in regard to:

- elaboration of a long-range plan for the establishment of joint feature, documentary, popular science and animated movies, establishment of direct production and creative relations between movie studios, movie journals and other cinematographic institutions and organizations in both countries, and the exchange of party committee delegations between the USSR State Committee for Cinematography and Czechoslovakian Film;

- regular meetings between figures in the theatrical, musical and fine arts to exchange experience and resolve timely problems of collaboration;

- intensification of the exchange of writers and translators and measures to improve work by the Mixed Commission on the Publication, Translation and Propaganda of Fiction in conjunction with writers' unions in both countries.

There will be discussion of the possibility of publishing a youth literary journal (with a Soviet-Czechoslovak editorial board) provisionally to be titled TVORCHESTVO MOLODYKH [Young People's Creativity] and development of the most diverse forms of relations and collaboration between young artists (festivals, shows, competitions, etc.).

Both sides have a positive attitude toward elaboration by both countries' ministries of culture and cultural and educational institutions in both countries of programs for public aesthetic education as well as toward more in-depth collaboration in the field of amateur art work, expansion of the exchange of works of fine art, development of a program for collaboration in the field of historical preservation and toward further development of interaction between state museums.

In order to develop the material-technical base of the cultural realm both parties shall strive toward collaboration in the development and production of technical equipment for theaters and concert halls, records, compact discs and technical improvement of these items and shall discuss opportunities for collaboration in the production of high-quality musical instruments and both electronic and acoustic equipment for bands.

The CPSU and the CPCZ shall devote constant attention to the work of the Soviet-Czechoslovakian Friendship Society and the Czechoslovakian-Soviet Friendship Society, the House of Soviet Science and Culture in Prague and the CSSR Information and Culture Center in Moscow.

III. In the Field of Propaganda, Ideological Educational and Mass Political Work

The CPSU and the CPCZ submit that collaboration in this field must be raised to the level of present-day requirements. They shall seek new forms of ties between the CPSU Central Committee and CPCZ Central Committee ideological departments and shall inform each other of propaganda orientations and problems of ideological educational and mass political work and expand the exchange of delegations and groups of party workers and lecturers and experience with restructuring in this field.

In the 1988-90 period consultations will be held on the following matters:

- development of and greater effectiveness from collaboration between the mass media and propaganda directed at foreign countries; ideological educational and mass political work;
- organization of party studies and advanced training for ideological cadres; restructuring of ideological work under conditions of deepening democracy, development of self-government, realization of economic reforms and development of oral and graphical political agitation.

Both sides shall reach agreement on subjects, scheduling and means of organizing joint conferences, symposiums and discussion sessions; shall work together to draft a specific plan for trainee programs for party workers in 1988-90; shall discuss integration of their systems of party and economic education and creation of joint textbooks, visual aids and didactic handbooks; and shall organize through the CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences joint courses for directors of oblast political schools and their deputies, directors of the largest houses of political education and the propagandist aktiv.

The corresponding CPSU Central Committee and CPCZ Central Committee ideological departments:

- shall assist in the further development of cooperation between the All-Union Znaniye Society and the Socialist Academy by means of improving the quality of mutual exchange of lecturers, conducting joint seminars, regular exchanges of staff members from the Znaniye and Gorizont publishing houses, mutual consultations board leading workers from the Socialist Academy and the Znaniye Society Board, trainee programs, development of collaboration between the editorial staff of the journals NAUKA I ZHIZN (Znaniye Society) and VEDA A ZIVOT and PRIRODA A SPOLECNOST (Socialist Academy);
- shall discuss means of coordinating foreign policy propaganda and counterpropaganda, regular exchange of materials on work in this field and analysis of bourgeois propaganda directed at the USSR, CSSR and other countries in the socialist camp and other counterpropaganda materials;
- shall devote constant attention to collaboration in the field of scientific atheistic education, facilitate a regular exchange of delegation of persons working in this field and exchange analytical materials on the forms and methods of work by church centers and help conclude long-range agreements on collaboration between institutions of scientific atheism in both countries;
- shall make certain that the appropriate institutions in both countries develop interaction in regard to the

preparations for and conducting of celebrations marking the 400th anniversary of J. A. Komensky's birth.

IV. In the Field of the Mass Media

The CPSU and the CPCZ shall strive toward fuller utilization of the mass media for the purpose of supplying broad information to the public concerning work by the party to guide restructuring, bring about democratization and implement reform of the economic mechanism; and covering problems of collaboration between the USSR and the CSSR and clarification of international affairs issues. They shall hold regular consultations on guidance of the mass media.

Both sides shall orient work by the editorial boards of cooperating newspapers, magazines, TASS and the Czechoslovakian Telegraph Agency toward establishment of a regular exchange of timely commentaries on the most important problems in the domestic and international situation, along with materials prepared at the editorial boards' request by Soviet and Czechoslovakian authors, with subsequent parallel publication in both countries; and toward mutual, currency-free visits by editorial staff members and creation of proper conditions for them to undertake long-term trainee programs.

The practice of conducting joint seminars and "round-table" discussions shall be expanded, with active participation in these events by leading scientists and specialists and members of the party and state apparatus, for the purpose of improving interaction between the mass media in regard to clarification of the most important problems of restructuring, democratization and Soviet-Czechoslovakian collaboration.

The editorial staff of PRAVDA and RUDE PRAVO are preparing a series of articles on notable events and dates in the life of the CPSU and the CPCZ and the peoples of the USSR and the CSSR; in 1989 they will hold consultations on ways of covering direct production ties and the operations of joint enterprises and associations and will establish joint patronage over the construction of the Kirovzhskiy Mining and Concentration Combine.

The editorial staff of SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA, EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA and HOSPODARSKE NOVINY will conduct joint inspection raids at a number of enterprises which have established direct production relations and will discuss their problems in a roundtable discussion format.

The editorial staffs of KOMMUNIST, NOVA MYSL, PARTIYNAYA ZHIZN and ZIVOT STRANY will hold annual coordinating meetings between leading editorial staff members in order to agree on topics for problem-solving articles in connection with development of Marxist-Leninist theory under new conditions and theoretical groundwork on the need to renew socialism and expand the party's leading role.

Through an exchange of articles and organization of mutual trainee programs for editors collaboration between the CPSU Central Committee journals AGITATOR and POLITICHESKOYE OBRAZOVANIYE

and the journal SLOVO PROPAGANDISTA I AGITATORA (published by the CPCZ Central Committee Propaganda and Agitation Department) will be systematically deepened. Contacts and collaboration will be established between the editorial staffs of other publications in both countries as necessary.

The USSR State Committee for Radio and Television Broadcasting, Czechoslovakian Television and Czechoslovakian Radio shall prepare regular joint broadcasts, including question-and-answer forums, roundtable discussions, radio talk shows and television "bridges" on the broadest possible range of subjects and reports on cooperation between sister cities; shall send joint groups to report on the construction of major integrated facilities in Krivoy Rog, Karachaganak, etc; prepare joint broadcasts in connection with notable dates, expand and enrich with new forms collaboration between specialized youth editorial staffs in radio and television broadcasting; the foreign broadcasting editorial staffs shall expand their exchange of information on results and the finding of their analysis of listeners' interests, programming effectiveness and reception quality of radio broadcasts directed at developed capitalist countries and the developing world.

Both sides shall give attention to establishment of proper conditions for reception of Soviet Television's Channel 1 throughout the entire territory of the CSSR.

The Novosti Press Agency and the Czechoslovakian mass media shall make provision in their long-range agreement and working protocols for collaboration on intensified exchange of information and journalists and sponsorship of roundtable discussions; they shall strengthen their contacts with the press organs of the Czechoslovakian-Soviet Friendship Society and work to popularize new forms of relations and prepare joint articles by Soviet and Czechoslovakian journalists on the construction of integrated facilities in the USSR and the CSSR.

The Novosti Press Agency and the Orbis Press Agency are stepping up their propaganda efforts in third countries and will be exchanging work plans and analytical documents and arranging working meetings for the purpose of coordinating work with fraternal countries' press agencies on timely modern issues; they will also begin working on videos to be entitled "Czechoslovakian Specialists in the USSR" and "Yaroslav Gashek's Russian Odyssey."

Measures will be developed in conjunction with the Czechoslovakian Journalists' Union and sociologists to improve the quality of information contained in the Novosti Press Agency weekly TYDENIK AKTUALIT and the possibility of adding a youth section to it considered.

The CPSU and the CPCZ shall stimulate more active direct working contacts on the level of the local and plant

press in twin oblasts and enterprises which maintain direct ties through exchange of printed materials and delegations of journalists.

In the field of book publishing and dissemination of the press:

- collaboration shall be deepened between the CPSU Central Committee's party publishing houses—Politizdat and Plakat—and the CPCZ Central Committee publishing houses Pravda and Svoboda with regard to publication of V. I. Lenin's works and preparation for publication of textbooks to be used in the party educational system;

- the work of the Soviet-Czechoslovakian Working Group on Publishing will be stepped up, along with contacts between publishing houses with partnership relations. Toward these ends the question of establishing direct export relations between individual central publishing houses in the USSR and the CSSR shall be considered, as well as establishment of a joint publishing house, convening of a joint working conference to be attended by representatives of all interested parties on the publication and dissemination of original and translated literature and a joint proposal on socialist countries' participation in the "European Library" project, and utilization of Czechoslovakian printing plants' export opportunities to realize plans for joint entry into third-country markets.

The USSR State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants and the Book Trade and the USSR and CSSR ministries of culture shall work together to expand the book distribution network in order to fully satisfy demand in both countries for Soviet and Czechoslovakian literature; shall develop, as the most promising avenue, the publication in the USSR of books by Soviet authors in Czech and Slovak translation to be subsequently shipped to the CSSR, and the purchase in the CSSR of Russian translations of books by Czechoslovakian authors, these to be shipped to the USSR.

Both sides shall stimulate contacts and collaboration in the development of video equipment production and creation of programs on video. Toward this end the concerned organizations and enterprises in both countries shall work together to develop specific approaches and to define immediate goals.

The USSR Journalists' Union and the Czechoslovakian Journalists' Union shall expand their exchange of specialized delegations and groups of journalists, including representatives of oblast and rayon newspapers, for the purpose of sharing information about the operations of journalistic organizations and the training of journalistic cadres.

The CPSU and the CPCZ shall facilitate deepening of collaboration in the field of pedagogical and scientific activity between VUZs which train journalists.

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The CPSU shall make it possible for the CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences to receive groups of Czechoslovakian journalists as students on a regular basis.

V. In the Field of Collaboration Between Local Party Organs

The CPSU and the CPCZ shall facilitate all-round development of ideological collaboration through local party relations. Toward this end they shall:

- discuss ways of sharing experience with ideological work under conditions of glasnost and democratization at the level of party obkom and gorkom secretary;
- create proper conditions to make trips in both directions easier and to expand personal contacts between workers in Transcarpathian and East Slovak oblasts;
- encourage active interaction between local press, television and radio organs by expanding the exchange of printed and photographic materials, movies, television films and publicistic programs.

VI. In the Field of Youth Work

The CPSU and the CPCZ attach great significance to development of work with young people and therefore deem it essential:

- to organize a regular exchange of experience on participation by the younger generation in restructuring and democratization of economic, social and political life;
- to study existing organizational, administrative and physical factors which hamper higher quality and volume of youth exchanges and on this basis take measures aimed at make those exchanges easier and increasing the return from such contacts;
- to agree upon joint means of increasing the contribution made by the mass media and cultural institutions to the formation of a socialist consciousness among the younger generation, expand opportunities for exchange of specific information concerning young people's life in the USSR and the CSSR and concerning successes and shortcomings in the work of youth organizations;
- to foster cooperation on study of the effectiveness of existing legal standards defining young people's status in society and make use of the resulting conclusions in efforts to improve legislation;
- to stimulate collaboration between the All-Union Komsomol and the Czechoslovakian Youth League;
- to devote constant attention to fulfillment of the "Sodruzhestvo" program;
- to discuss the possibility of conducting a joint seminar to share experience with political guidance of youth organizations under restructuring;

—to render constant support in the organization of international competitions for student scientific work and vocational training between USSR and CSSR educational institutions, thematic meetings for various age and social groups of young people; to discuss the possibility of establishing youth research collective; to expand participation by Czechoslovakian youth in integrational construction projects in the USSR and by Soviet Komsomol members on youth construction projects in the CSSR; to carry out joint actions which will foster development of young people's scientific-technical creativity; to expand the exchange of children's and youth teams in various sports;

—to facilitate development of collaboration between the tourist bureaus of the All-Union Komsomol Central Committee and the Czechoslovakian Youth League—Sputnik and TsKM.

VII. In the Field of Physical Education, Sports and Tourism

The CPSU and the CPCZ regard expansion of contacts in the field of physical education, sports and tourism and the rendering of comprehensive support in the development of existing relations and establishment of new ties in these areas as an important task. Toward these ends they shall work together to encourage:

- purposeful coordination of the international athletic and Olympic movement in order to fight for peace, progress and democratization in athletics;
- expanded cooperation and exchange of experience between the USSR and the CSSR on the athletic and physical culture movement, mass physical education and tourism, gradually removing the barriers which continue to hamper these efforts;
- expanded contacts between scientists and specialists from both countries and conducting of scientific research on physical education and sports;
- gradual development of amicable relations between the major physical culture societies in the fields of higher sports achievement and a greater contribution by athletic relations to relationships between sister cities.

Both sides shall support efforts to expand the network of hotels and jointly-owned resorts in the USSR and the CSSR; shall develop non-traditional forms of tourism (family tourism, tours by collectives of twin enterprises and schools, automobile tourism, etc.); shall study the possibility of establishing joint bureaus for the development of tourism and expansion of low-priced tourist accommodations, tourist discount offers, etc.

Monitoring of realization of the points contained in this program shall be carried out by the CPSU Central Committee and CPCZ Central Committee ideological

departments, which shall submit an appropriate report and additional proposals to their respective central committees once each year.

This program available in both Russian and Czech.

On Behalf of the CPSU Central Committee: A. N. Yakovlev, CPSU Central Committee Politburo Member and Secretary On Behalf of the CPCZ Central Committee: J. Fojtik, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium Member and Secretary

Prague, 14 November 1988

Negotiations, Meetings and Talks (Chronicle for May 1989)

18050006j Moscow IZVESTIYA TsK KPSS in Russian No 6, Jun 89 pp 136-139—FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

[Text] **28 April-7 May:** USSR visited by a delegation of Italian CP veterans headed by Stride-Kadzhali. The Italian comrades attended the May Day celebration on Red Square.

2-6 May: V. P. Nikonov, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and secretary, in the Hungarian People's Republic on a working visit. On **4 May** he met with K. Grosz, Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party [MSZMP] general secretary, for a working meeting. During that discussion the resolve to expand mutual efforts aimed at increasing the yield from Soviet-Hungarian economic ties and improving the entire mechanism for Soviet-Hungarian interaction was expressed. V. P. Nikonov also met with P. Ivani, MSZMP Central Committee Politburo member and secretary.

2-6 May: Czechoslovakian Socialist Republic visited by a delegation of CPSU workers headed by P. Ya. Slezko, CPSU Central Committee candidate member and CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee deputy chairman. The delegation leaders was received by M. Jakes, Czechoslovak CP Central Committee general secretary.

2-9 May: Stockholm visited by a CPSU delegation headed by V. I. Kalashnikov, CPSU Central Committee member and Volgograd CPSU Obkom first secretary; delegation attended 29th Congress of Swedish Workers' Party (Communist).

3 May: M. S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman, met with Nguyen Van Linh, Vietnamese CP Central Committee general secretary, who was visiting Moscow on a short working visit en route from Havana to Vietnam. During their exchange of opinions various aspects of the renewal process in both countries were considered, along with the development of bilateral relations and collaboration between the Soviet Union and Vietnam in international affairs, particularly in the Asian and Pacific region.

5 May: N. I. Ryzhkov, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and USSR Council of Ministers chairman, received M. D'Alema, members of the Italian CP leadership and political director of the newspaper UNITA, at the Kremlin. Their conversation focused on Soviet restructuring and renewal of socialism on the basis of Leninist views and the CPSU's political experience. M. D'Alema presented to the Armenia Aid Fund a sum of money collected by UNITA from December 1988 through April 1989.

5 May: V. M. Falin, CPSU Central Committee member and CPSU Central Committee International Department head, met with a delegation comprised of chairmen and members of production councils from Ruhr metalworking and automobile enterprises (FRG); the delegation was in the USSR at the invitation of Soviet trade unions.

9-16 May: Dar-es-Salaam visited by a CPSU delegation headed by R. Kh. Khabibullin, Bashkir CPSU Obkom first secretary; the delegation was invited by the Tanzanian Revolutionary Party (Chama Cha Mapinduzi).

10 May: at the invitation of the European Democratic Union a meeting was held in Vienna between this group of 23 European Christian-democratic and conservative parties and a CPSU delegation comprised of V. M. Falin, CPSU Central Committee member and CPSU Central Committee International Department head, V. S. Rykin, group leader in the CPSU Central Committee International Department, and G. S. Shikin, Soviet Ambassador to Austria. Both delegations met with A. Mock, European Democratic Union chairman and Austrian minister of foreign affairs. The subjects of their discussion were processes of political, economic, social and cultural development in Europe and their possible effects on the practical work of the appropriate state and party institutions. Contacts between the CPSU and the European Democratic Union will be maintained. The same day V. M. Falin met with F. Vranitsky, Austrian federal chancellor. Their conversation dealt with current international issues. On 9 May the CPSU delegation met with F. Muhri, Austrian CP chairman, W. Silbermeyer, Austrian CP Central Committee Politburo member and secretary, and J. Steiner, Austrian CP Central Committee Secretariat member. The CPSU and Austrian CP representatives exchanged information regarding both parties' political work and their assessments of the current situation.

11-13 May: a meeting titled "The Future of Europe and European Cooperation on the Eve of the 1990's" was held in Budapest; the meeting was attended by representatives of 23 different parties—communist, social-democratic, socialist, liberal, Christian and conservative—from 14 countries in Europe and North America. The CPSU delegation was headed by V. M. Falin, CPSU Central Committee member and CPSU Central Committee International Department head.

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12 May: G. P. Razumovskiy, CPSU Central Committee Politburo candidate member and secretary, met with M. Zavadil, Czechoslovak CP Central Committee Presidium member and Czechoslovakian Socialist Republic Central Trade Union Council chairman, who was in Moscow at the invitation of the AUCCTU. Their conversation included an exchange of opinions on the work of party organs and trade unions under restructuring.

12-20 May: CPSU representatives—V. V. Zhurkin, USSR Academy of Sciences Europe Institute director, and G. P. Smirnov, CPSU Central Committee International Department deputy group leader—travel to Milan to attend the 45th Italian Socialist Party Congress.

12-25 May: USSR visited by a delegation from the Democratic Union of Malian People headed by Bay Ag Mokhammed, Central Executive Bureau member. The delegation familiarized itself with the progress of restructuring and held talks at CPSU Central Committee departments and the Volgograd CPSU Obkom and visited a number of agricultural and industrial enterprises.

13-21 May: USSR visited by a delegation from the Spanish CP headed by F. Romero Marin, Spanish CP Central Committee Political Commission member. The Spanish comrades were familiarized with the work of the CPSU under restructuring.

14-20 May: A CPSU delegation headed by B. K. Pugo, CPSU Central Committee member and CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee chairman, visited Helsinki at the invitation of the Finnish Center Party. Talks held with the Center Party leadership were attended by P. Vyayuryunen, party chairman, S. Kyyariyaynen, party general secretary, M. Immonen, party foreign policy commission chairman, and K. Yukhantalo, party parliamentary faction chairman. Much attention was devoted to the problems of building a "common European home" and protecting the environment, specifically on the basis of M. S. Gorbachev's Murmansk initiatives, and further developing Soviet-Finnish relations. Both sides expressed the opinion that M. S. Gorbachev's upcoming official visit to Finland and his negotiations with M. Koivisto, president of the Finnish Republic, will help to raise the entire complex of Soviet-Finnish interaction to a qualitatively new level. On **19 May** M. Koivisto, president of the Finnish Republic, received B. K. Pugo. During their conversation, which took place in a warm, amicable atmosphere, they discussed the current status and prospects for development of mutual relations between the USSR and Finland in various fields.

15-18 May: M. S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman, was in the PRC on an official visit at the invitation of Yang Shangkun, PRC chairman, with whom he met on **15 May**. On **16 May** M. S. Gorbachev met with Deng Zhiaopeng, Chinese CP Military Council chairman and PRC Central Military Council chairman. On the same day M. S. Gorbachev talked with Zhao

Ziyang, Central Committee Party Control Committee general secretary, and negotiated with Li Peng, Central Committee Party Control Committee Politburo Permanent Committee member and PRC State Council premier. On **17 May** M. S. Gorbachev addressed the Chinese public and gave an interview on Chinese Central Television. The meeting between the leaders of the USSR and the PRC marked normalization of relations between the two states and reestablishment of relations between the CPSU and the Chinese CP.

15-29 May: USSR visited by a delegation from the Ghanaian Provisional National Defense Council (PNDC), in the USSR to study the work of the CPSU under conditions of restructuring.

16-18 May: Ya. Losolsuren, Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party (MPRP) Central Committee member and MPRP Central Committee General Department head, in Moscow for consultations. He met with V. I. Boldin, CPSU Central Committee member and CPSU Central Committee General Department head.

16-18 May: An international scientific-practical conference was held at the Moscow Higher Party School. In addition to Soviet scientists, social scientists from other socialist countries also took part in the discussion. Topics of discussion were the political and economic aspects of renewal of socialist social relationships, legal questions pertaining to democratization of socialist society and renewal processes in the cultural and ideological realm.

16-19 May: Moscow visited by a delegation from the West German Social Democratic Party (SPD) comprised of H. Schaeffer, deputy chairman of the SPD's Bundestag faction, and M. Mueller and F. Jung, Bundestag deputies. They discussed environmental protection and prospects for cooperation in that field in the course of talks with a number of union-level agencies and scientific institutions and meetings with people's deputies and representatives of the public.

16-23 May: A. M. Moskvichev, CPSU representatives and USSR deputy minister of health, visited Morocco at the invitation of the Istiqlal Party leadership. Moskvichev participated in that party's 12th Congress. He also met with M. Boucetta, Istiqlal Party general secretary, the Party for Progress and Socialism leadership, and T. Bencheikh, Moroccan minister of public health. During their talks both sides expressed mutual aspirations for further development of Soviet-Moroccan relations and sociopolitical ties.

17 May: V. M. Chebrikov, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and CPSU Central Committee secretary, received Tomas Borge Martinez, Nicaraguan Sandinista National Liberation Front National Leadership member, on a working visit. Their discussion, which took place in an amicable atmosphere, included an exchange of opinions on matters of interest to both sides.

19 May: The Institute for Exchange of Experience in Socialist Building (under the CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences) held an international scientific-practical conference called "Renewal in the Forms and Methods of Party-State Leadership Under New Economic Conditions." The conference was attended by scientists and party workers from the Bulgarian CP, the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, the German Socialist Unity Party, the Cuban CP, the Laotian People's Revolutionary Party, the Polish United Workers' Party, the CPSU and the Czechoslovak CP. Topics of discussion were current issues pertaining to delineation of the functions of party, state and economic organs at this stage of economic and political reforms and deepening of democratization processes in the public affairs of socialist countries.

22-27 May: In accordance with the plan for development of relations with the Finnish Social Democratic Party a delegation of CPSU party workers—specialists in the field of economics headed by B. N. Ladygin, CPSU Central Committee Socioeconomic Department deputy head—visited Helsinki. The Soviet specialists were received by E. Liikanen, Finnish minister of finance and U. Iivari, Finnish Social Democratic Party general secretary, and also met with representatives of the country's trade unions and financial and industrial circles. Both sides affirmed their interest in stable development of Soviet-Finnish relations.

23-25 May: An international scientific seminar on the topic "The World of Labor and the Fate of Humanity" was held in Moscow. It was sponsored by the CPSU Central Committee Institute of Social Sciences in conjunction with the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of the International Workers' Movement and the AUCCTU. The forum was timed to coincide with the 100th anniversary of the formation of the Second International. It was attended by prominent scientists and political figures representing communist, socialist and social-democratic parties and trade unions from 29 countries.

24-27 May: A CPSU delegation headed by V. A. Lepeshkin, Belorussian CP Central Committee secretary, was in West Berlin to attend the funeral of H. Schmitt, West Berlin Socialist Unity Party chairman.

30 May: O. D. Baklanov, CPSU Central Committee secretary, received M. Delbarre, French minister of public works, housing, transportation and the sea, who was in Moscow at the invitation of the USSR Ministry of Railways. They had a mutually beneficial exchange of opinions on matters of interest to both sides.

30 May-7 June: In Rabat (Morocco) CPSU representatives—G. P. Veselov, RSFSR minister of public education and chairman of the board of the USSR-Morocco Friendship Society, and Yu. S. Gryadunov, CPSU Central Committee International Department group leader—attended the 2nd Constitutional Union Party Congress. On **1 June** a meeting with M. Buabid,

chairman of that party, and A. Sherkaui, general secretary of the Moroccan Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation, took place. During the course of their discussion both sides expressed their mutual desire for further development of Soviet-Moroccan relations and sociopolitical ties. On **2 June** the CPSU representatives met with the leaders of the Party for Progress and Socialism, headed by Ali Yatoy, party general secretary.

31 May-7 June: A CPSU delegation headed by N. I. Semenov, Kirghiz CP Central Committee secretary, visited Victoria (Seychelles Islands) to attend events held in commemoration of the 25th anniversary of the Seychelles People's Progressive Front and Liberation Day. The CPSU delegation met with R. Adam, party Central Committee secretary for foreign relations, and E. Jumeau, party Central Committee secretary.

CPSU Central Committee International Department

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